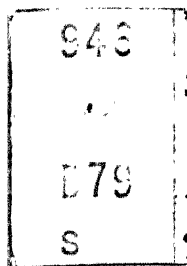


Spain in the world



SAX BRADFORD

Director, Bureau of Educational
and Cultural Affairs

U. S. Department of State

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by **SAX BRADFORD**

Director, Bureau of
Educational and Cultural Affairs
United States Department of State

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Preface

Behind the bull fight posters, the gypsy entertainment and the cathedrals of Spain there is a living nation. The real Spain is more vital and enthralling than its "local color" imitation in the travel magazines.

The real Spain is worth finding out about. The student, the tourist and the citizen who wants to be informed about the world in which he lives can find out about it if he wishes to make the effort. He will find the results of that effort richly satisfying. Spain is one of the most rewarding countries in the world to the foreigner. The peninsula it occupies is dramatic and precise. Its people are strong, direct, expressive and friendly. The language they speak is relatively easy to learn and permanently useful. Their culture is deep and highly diversified.

Until quite recently Spain was almost unknown in the United States. Unaccountably, it has been off the beaten path of the American tourist in Europe. It has been outside the area of our serious academic studies in the civilization of western Europe. The exceptions to this generalization have been mostly among the people living in Texas, California, New Mexico and Florida. Their special interest is understandable. Yet even in that part of the United States attention has centered on Hispanic America rather than on its cultural fountainhead, Spain.

But within the last few years we have become aware of Spain itself. Both academic and popular interest in Spain are quickening in the United States.

This book is written for the purpose of making Spain more understandable to North Americans. It is an attempt to make familiar

the physical realities of the country, the unique character of the people and the vitality of their life. All these aspects of the Spanish nation have deeply affected the course of western civilization, including that part of its spread across the New World of the Americas. They will continue to do so.

But most of all this book is meant to be an introduction, as intimate an introduction as possible, to the 30 million individual Spaniards who are a great credit to the human family.

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I *Between Europe and Africa*

SPAIN owes its unique personality as well as its place in the affairs of the world to the location of the Iberian Peninsula. Together with Portugal, it occupies the extreme southwest extension of the European continent, partially cut off from the rest of Europe by the Pyrenees Mountains. A look at the map shows how remote Spain stands from the great centers of European life. It has been protected by distance from the main Indo-European migrations that have given most of Europe its human characteristics.

The Spanish people, their culture and the form of their social and political life derive from the location of their land. The Spanish use a word, *querencia*, to indicate the spot on which the bull instinctively stands in the ring to face his destiny. The Iberian Peninsula is the *querencia* of the Spaniard.

On many early maps Spain appeared as the exact center of the known world, perhaps out of deference to Spanish navigation and national power. On those maps Europe stretched to the north; Spanish America lay westward across the Atlantic, Africa to the south and the older Mediterranean world eastward. At that time Spain, under the Hapsburg kings, dominated the world in all four directions. Modern maps show the center of activity elsewhere. But with world attention moving to Africa and Latin America, the geographical position of Spain can again be made to appear central. Throughout many changes in the fortunes of the various nations of the world, Spain has sometimes played a commanding part, sometimes a quiescent part. Its place, however, between western Europe and northern Africa and its place between the Mediterranean and the

SPAIN..

Between
TWO CONTINENTS



Americas, established by the logic of location, have remained constant.

Before men began to travel by ship, the Iberian Peninsula derived its population from wandering families and tribes. It is evident that early peoples moved freely, perhaps without much purpose, between the Atlas Mountains and the Pyrenees. They were primitive peoples mostly of unknown origin, but among them can be identified Berber and Alpine stock. Spain was an early incubator of mixed ethnic groups.

Recorded history and the purposeful settlement of Spain began with the Phoenician and Greek expeditions. Their objective was mining and trade. Various seafaring peoples crossed the Mediterranean over a long period of time, mostly with the same object in view. By the time of the contest between Rome and Carthage, the early peoples living along the Iberian coasts had been largely absorbed into the colonial settlements of the Mediterranean powers or forced back into the interior. But the areas of foreign control were very few and limited at first. The Carthaginians undertook a systematic control of those areas near the sea. The Romans drove out their rivals and in time brought most of the peninsula under their administration. Spain was one of the first countries to be swallowed up by colonial expansion. What is now called Spain was a colony of Rome at the beginning of the Christian era.

However, the Romans, although they were the first to organize a political unit, were not the first foreign stock to arrive in Spain in large numbers. Rather, the initial immigrants were Celtic, and these came in a disorganized way into the peninsula during a number of centuries. In contrast, the Romans, mostly soldiers and bureaucrats, came systematically. The third great invasion was Germanic, ending with the Visigothic. The fourth and last massive wave of peoples to enter Spain was a combination of Arabs, Berbers and Jews.

Thus the ethnic base of the modern Spanish people is a complex one. The people who contributed to it came from widespread areas of the older world. They came unevenly, and for the most part established themselves in different parts of the peninsula. The cultural

base of modern Spain is likewise complex and uneven. Successive arrivals were not equally rich in cultural tradition nor equally successful in transplanting their cultures to the Spanish soil. Nor did Spain's contact with the older cultures last equal lengths of time. Since cultures accompany people and represent their way of living, Spain's various cultural elements arrived in different regions according to the part of Spain populated by those who brought them. The two strongest cultural contributions to Spain were Roman and Moorish. The former remains strongest in the northern half of Spain and the latter in the southern half. In the south, however, language and religion, two of the prime cultural elements, are derived from the Roman. In the north the underlying Moorish ethnic and cultural elements are still vital. The northern Spaniard still calls on Allah in his daily conversation.

The richness of Spanish culture is derived not simply from the meeting of Roman and Moorish cultures but from its almost infinite regional variety. It is still fed from many sources and is still one of the most vital on the world scene, regardless of the present economic and political position of Spain.

The ethnic and cultural backgrounds of different peoples in the Spanish regions vary according to their location on the peninsula, their inherent strength and durability and the success of the region in maintaining itself free from outside control. The Basques have been the last to be adulterated by foreign contact. Their mountainous place on the peninsula was farthest from the seaports of the early Mediterranean powers. It was the most difficult region of Spain to reach overland. The early Basque society was well-formed and close-knit. For these reasons, the Basques have been able to maintain their integrity and, under all conditions, have generally kept aloof from the other Spaniards. The Castilians, on the other hand, are a product of successive retreat and advance in an exposed location where man was required to call up his own resources for survival. These resources grew so great that the last advance has not yet stopped. The Castilians are an example of a great people formed by the greatness of their response to a challenge. Between the Basque

and the Castilian is another type of Spaniard, equally deserving of attention, who has survived by changing the character of his conqueror. The people of Cádiz are of this kind. More than three thousand years ago their city was selected to be the port and emporium of the Tyrrhenian traders. Since that time it has been exposed to every conquering power plying the Mediterranean. But the community still retains the characteristics of old Cádiz, intact and with a tradition of its own as rich as Marseille or Alexandria.

The location of the peninsula and the character of the people developed on it determined how the emergent Spanish nation as it rose to a position of power would exert its influence backward on its sources in Europe, the Levant and Africa. These factors also determined how it would influence the newer world. Roman Spain strongly influenced metropolitan Rome itself as well as the rest of the empire. Its thinkers, such as the Stoic writer Seneca and its emperors, Trajan and Hadrian, often played a dominant part in Roman affairs. Islamic Spain in the west likewise influenced eastern Islam through its great philosophers and scientists. Catalonia and Aragón dominated the Mediterranean at various times and at one time jointly controlled part of the eastern Roman empire.

But the potential of Spain was never fully developed until the entire peninsula was unified politically under the kings of Castile. The special role set aside for the Spanish nation was the transfer of the older civilizations of the Mediterranean and western Europe across the Atlantic to the new continents of the world.

Spain is the mother of a score of Hispanic nations representing about one fifth of the world family. But the real influence of Spain cannot be limited by the Spanish and American nationalities; it extends around the world and crosses all boundaries. A public square is a plaza in Nebraska, Luzon and Patagonia. Spanish is an official language in the United Nations and indeed wherever representatives of nations confer. The cowboy type of Andalusia flourishes in Australia, Texas and Hawaii. Don Quixote tilts at windmills wherever men read literature.

At the exit of the Mediterranean and the entrance to the Atlantic,

Spain has served as staging area for the movement of advanced civilization to the new places of the earth. But the civilization thus forwarded has not been simply Greek, Levantine and Roman. It has the Spanish mark on it. It is Spanish that is spoken in Havana, not Latin or Arabic or Hebrew. Spain has not been a highway over which people and ideas pass, but a stopping place where they are tried out and take on their final form before going on to their destination.

The Spanish guitar illustrates Spain's part in the development and movement of cultures. Out of the Near East a stringed instrument was brought to Spain in the Middle Ages. There it made nostalgic song far from its homeland. A few hundred years later the Spanish guitar appeared fully developed in its modern form. Since the twelfth century it has been purely Spanish in character. So far has it come from its primitive home that in the hands of an artist like Andrés Segovia it is capable of a full range of musical expression. Sophisticated now, the Spanish guitar is nevertheless still resonant with its original nostalgia.

In this process of assimilation and change which Spain has applied to its ethnic and cultural resources, there has been added to simple geographical location another element. That element is the topography of the land. An unusually difficult terrain has prevented the free and even mingling of the peninsula's peoples, both those indigenous to Iberia and the immigrants and conquerors who have come from other places.

Far from being a highroad, Spain has in fact served as a barrier between Europe and Africa. Despite its location, Spain has enjoyed no great advantage over other European powers in maintaining communication with North African areas. In colonial times both Italy and France maintained as close contact with the continent as did Spain. While the sea offers easy access either way, the land of Spain offers difficulty. The Moorish armies were never able to penetrate far into France in strength, nor was Charlemagne able to strike back at them effectively on their own territory. Military commanders from Hannibal to Franco have had difficulty moving large bodies of troops on the peninsula. What has been true of armies has likewise

been true of trade, communication, political organization and language. Many of the peoples on the move by sea and overland elsewhere in Europe in the restless times were able only to inch into Spain. They were stopped in the gorges of the mountains or were spread thin on the arid steppes.

The Iberian Peninsula cannot be called the bridge between Europe and Africa. Nor is it an extension of Europe into Africa; nor of Africa into Europe. Nor is it an open gateway from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. It is a stubborn, individual place on the route.

Although a mixture of many ethnic groups, the Spaniard is unlike any one of them. Further, his country is unlike the homelands of any one of them. The traveler enroute from Paris to Tangier may see Spain as a transitional region, but it will not appear to him as characteristically European or African. The first Spanish province he crosses will be unlike France and the last unlike Morocco. Not a sentence spoken in Spain will be modern French or Arabic, and not a thought expressed is likely to be European or North African in concept.

The individual character of the Spaniard has been passed on to Spanish America. The Spanish personality was formed and hardened before the New World was discovered, and this fact has given Spanish America its personality as well.

Practically speaking, Spain is an island, and its life is insular. Ordinarily an island country is homogeneous. Unlike that of England, however, the interior of Spain is of difficult access. Its regions are sealed off from each other by natural barriers that can be overcome only with difficulty. The island of Spain, therefore, is not homogeneous but remarkably diverse. Just as Spain is unlike any of its neighbors, so the regions of Spain are unlike each other. Spain has a national government and a national capital. It speaks the same official language throughout and professes the same religion. Its people have one human characteristic in common which can be summed up in one word: individualistic. But after these general statements have been made, any discussion of the Spaniard must immediately descend to the regional and the personal.

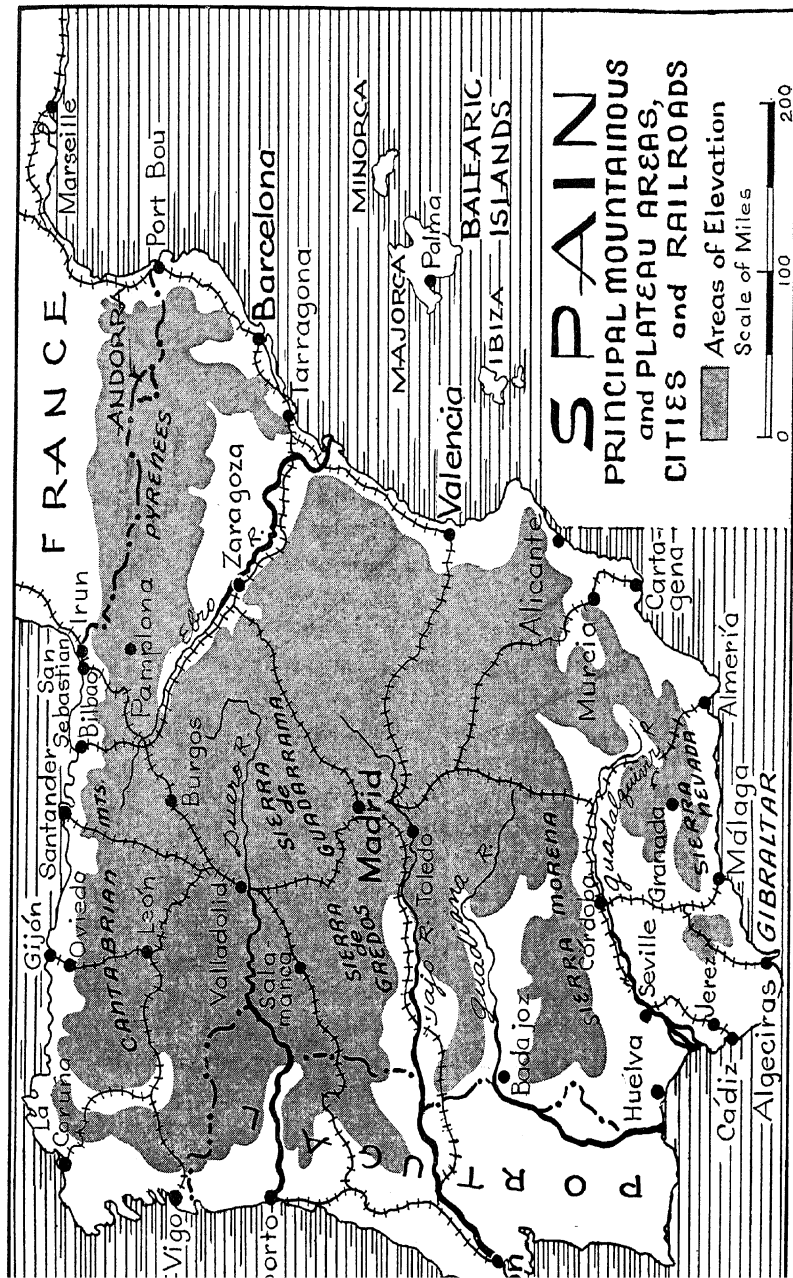
THE DIVERSITY OF SPAIN

Until the advent of the airplane, the hard facts of Spain's topography stood in the way of every attempt at effective national organization. It is still difficult to reach Vigo from Barcelona by surface transportation, although both cities are in northern Spain. It is no wonder that the regional languages spoken in these two places are mutually unintelligible.

There are no navigable rivers reaching very far into Spain. There are, except in the northwest corner of the country, few good deep-sea ports, and these are remote from coastal shipping lanes and cut off from the rest of Spain by mountains. Only two valleys lead inward from the coast, those of the Guadalquivir in the far south and the Ebro in the northeast. There are few wide coastal strips, and these stop abruptly at the mountain wall that flanks the interior. Back of that wall is the *meseta*, the high central tableland which is itself cut by steep valleys and chasms.

France is walled off by the Pyrenees. Four other major mountain ranges block the interior coastal access and break the *meseta* into transverse sections. A strip across the northern coast, mild in climate and green from ample rains, is divided from the rest of the peninsula by the Cantabrian Mountains. To the south, the Guadarramas split the *meseta* itself into a northern and southern plain identified now as Old Castile and New Castile. These are in turn cut off from Andalusia in the south-central part of the country by the Sierra Morena. Rising above the southern coast, the Sierra Nevada keeps the interior of Andalusia from the seacoast of Málaga. These major ranges, together with some smaller mountain complexes, mark off the five great geographic zones of Spain. Portugal lies to the west, enjoying the better climate and gentler topography of lower altitudes.

The northernmost of the great zones of Spain is the green strip extending five hundred miles from the fjords of Galicia to the Costa Brava. This area is entirely unlike the rest of Spain. Estremadura, rolling and arid, lies in the southwest against Portugal. The eastern zone on the Mediterranean coast includes the old kingdoms of



Valencia and Murcia. The southernmost zone is Andalusia, resembling southern California. These four contrasting areas are all dominated by the central plains of Castile which bear the rocky headwaters of the rivers. Higher in elevation than any other part of Europe out of the Alps, these plains are rigorous of climate, clear of air, subtle of color, denuded of forests; a land of sheep and goats, thin wheat fields and towns hardly distinguishable from the stones against which they are built.

There are fifty provinces, including the three outside the peninsula, divided into hundreds of smaller districts. In turn, the districts are divided into 9,255 individual communities, some with tradition and autonomy running back into prehistory. These are usually marked out by the courses of streams, the broken incline of hills, mountain valleys and other incidents of landscape. Together they make a mosaic into which families and larger groups of people fit. These have come down to modern times with marked individual character, the inhabitants of each community greatly resembling each other in thought and dress and custom. Across the thousands of years each newcomer to the community has been worn into its traditional mold, adding only a unit to a common local point of view. These people are unmoved by the passage of time; they have rejected new ideas one by one as they have appeared. They till the fields in time of peace and take to the hills as *guerrilleros* in time of trouble.

Each of these communities is separated from its neighbors and substantially lives on its own resources. Each, like the people that constitute it, is self-reliant and conservative, having somehow learned to live on the stubborn earth. Perhaps this remarkable achievement is the source of the inordinate pride of the individual community. The communication of thought within the province is fragmented and distorted by the individuality of each community, and the political life of the province is only the sum of community politics.

The modern regions of Spain derive their basic personality from the ancient kingdoms with which their present boundaries are more or less identical. These kingdoms grew up separately because they occupied areas cut off from each other by the hard profile of the land.

Even the two regions most advanced politically, Castile and Aragón, lived side by side for eight hundred years with only the most superficial association one with the other. So different were their interests in the eleventh century that one was engaged with the Moors five hundred miles to the southwest while the other, after conquering Sicily, was pursuing the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor.

The tradition of regional interests has been so strong in Spain that even after full political union under the Castilian monarchs, Vigo was more preoccupied with its trade in the Caribbean than with Madrid, and the Basque sailors knew foreign seaports better than they knew those of Andalusia. Spain seldom presents a Spanish face to the world. Usually it has presented a Galician or an Andalusian face to the Americas, a Catalanian face to France, and a Valencian face to the Mediterranean.

SPAIN IN EUROPE

One of the results of Spain's location close to Africa and on the sea routes of the Mediterranean has been to confuse the relationship of the nation to the other nations of western Europe. Spain does not fit into the group. It does not communicate with the other nations of Europe. They do not understand Spain and Spain very likely does not understand them. Some of the political movements that sweep Europe periodically have an effect on Spain but seldom seriously alter its life. Spain has been called anti-European, particularly at times of great political change in the rest of Europe. Spain strongly resists change. This resistance may be explained by the austere and conservative nature of the Spaniard. But there are other factors.

It is certain that the Spaniard has not yet become a cosmopolitan like the Londoner, the Parisian and the New Yorker—not even the Spaniard in Madrid. Nor has the Spaniard become a “modern man” or a “citizen of the world” in the sense in which most western Europeans use the words. The fact is that the Spaniard remains distinct from the other Europeans. While his art and intellect may be directed at universal concepts, his instinctive political and social actions are entirely Spanish.

The non-European character of the Spanish people and nation pose a problem to Spain itself as the requirement for international understanding and cooperation grows. Without concerted economic and technical action, it is virtually impossible to raise living standards. Increasingly, this action must be international. Without concerted international political action, it is difficult to maintain the peace, and it is becoming more difficult. In modern times no nation can go it alone.

Spain is very slowly overcoming its political and economic isolation from the rest of the western European community.

At the same time, the field of international cooperation does not begin and end with Europe, but encompasses other peoples, including the Africans and the Latin Americans. Here Spain faces some difficulties also, although it has certain obvious advantages over the other European countries. Some of the European features of its culture, particularly its religion and political organization, offer obstacles to full understanding and collaboration in North Africa. And the traditional nature of its society, based on Roman and Arabic forms, is a drag on Spanish American nations that must enter the twentieth century.

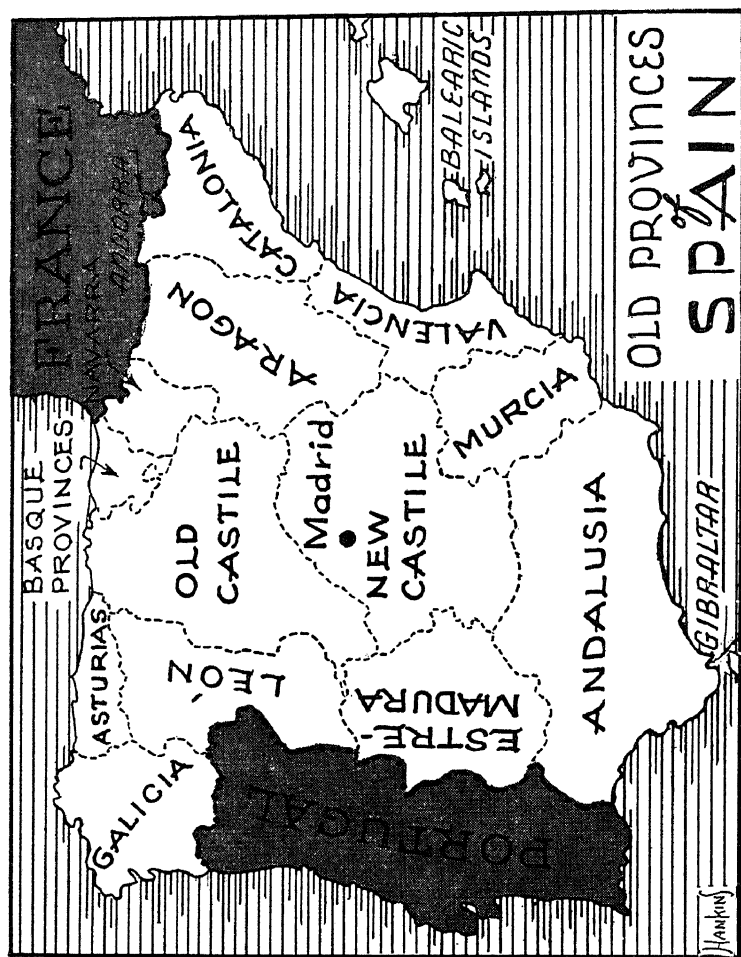
SPAIN's great variety has been discussed in terms of climatic zones, physical appearance and civil divisions corresponding to early counties, principalities and kingdoms. The present-day provinces can be considered in groups. Each group represents a traditional region, understood by Spaniards to be distinct from all the others and to bear its own personality, usually going back into antiquity. Some of the provinces, like Galicia, were themselves single kingdoms. Some, like Andalusia, have been made up in times past of many kingdoms, caliphates, emirates and other sovereign realms.

The variety of regions enriches Spain's life, but it also presents many serious problems in national organization. These problems have a direct bearing on Spain's economic and political future.

The regions of Spain will be described in seven broad groups: Galicia, the Basque Provinces, Catalonia, the Valencia-Murcia Coast, Andalusia, the Central *Meseta* and its flanks, and the Spanish islands and overseas possessions.

GALICIA

While sparsely peopled in general, Spain contains some areas which compare in density of population with like areas of western Europe. One of these is the northern green strip extending across Spain from Vigo to Barcelona. Of this well-settled strip, Galicia is the westernmost region and thus the most remote. It is also the least metropolitan, the least industrialized and the most softly beautiful. Almost ten percent of the 30 million Spaniards live in the four



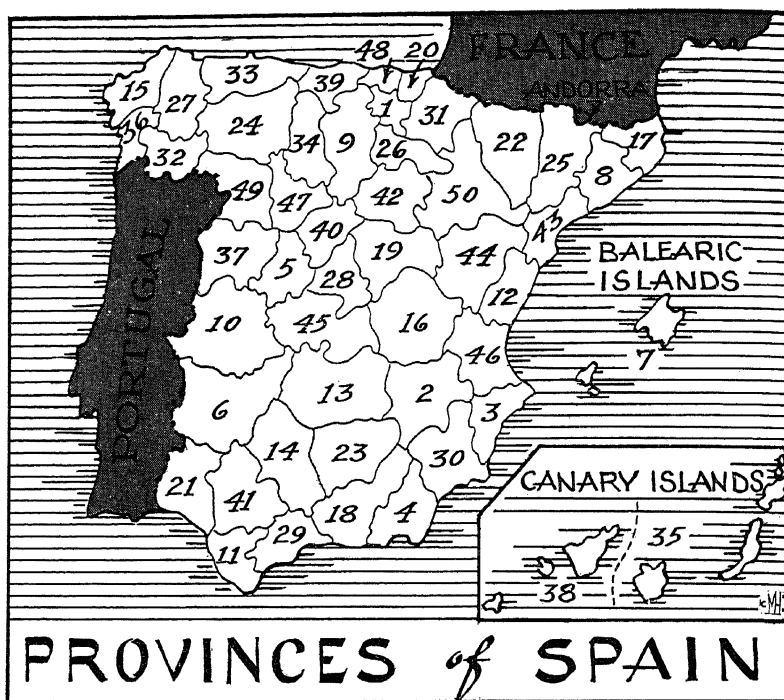
Galician provinces of Lugo, Pontevedra, La Coruña and Orense. But only two cities, Vigo and La Coruña, have more than 150,000 people.

The Galicians are farmers, fishermen, herdsmen and foresters. They are largely of Celtic and Germanic origin and, while they share the Spanish nationality and many other cultural elements, such as the Roman religion and law, they are the least like the rest of the Spaniards in many ways. Their local language shares a common origin with Portuguese.

The Galicians are a restless and far-wandering people, with a temperament suited to living away from home. Since they are also industrious, they have found work all over Spain and in many parts of the world. Many live in North and South America; many of them, retired, collect social security checks from the consulate of the United States at Vigo. There is a folk song, *Para Vigo me Voy*, which celebrates the fact that the modern overseas Spaniard is usually a Galician.

Galicians have always been an enterprising and able people. Celts had already settled in ancient Gallaecia when the Greeks first made contact with it; they kept both the Greeks and the Romans at arm's length, developing a tradition of independence they have never lost. Only the Suevi, pushed out of eastern Europe by the advancing Huns, succeeded in inundating this northwest corner of the peninsula. The Suevi succeeded where more powerful adversaries had failed because this Germanic people sought not conquest but a home. By the fifth century a distinctive Galician society was well established. It has remained more or less intact into modern times. The Vandals, Visigoths and Moors were no more able to change this remote corner of Europe or bring it under their permanent control than were the Greeks and the Romans.

The kingdom of Galicia was in fact in the vanguard of the reconquest of Spain from the Moors, the Galician knights pushing the Moorish armies southward until they had liberated not only Galicia but also most of what is now Portugal. In spite of the soft and inviting appearance of the country, foreigners have usually



- | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Alava | 18. Granada | 35. Palmas, Las (Gran Canaria) |
| 2. Albacete | 19. Guadalajara | 36. Pontevedra |
| 3. Alicante | 20. Guipúzcoa | 37. Salamanca |
| 4. Almería | 21. Huelva | 38. Santa Cruz de Tenerife |
| 5. Avila | 22. Huesca | 39. Santander |
| 6. Badajoz | 23. Jaén | 40. Segovia |
| 7. Baleares | 24. León | 41. Seville |
| 8. Barcelona | 25. Lérida | 42. Soria |
| 9. Burgos | 26. Logroño | 43. Tarragona |
| 10. Cáceres | 27. Lugo | 44. Teruel |
| 11. Cádiz | 28. Madrid | 45. Toledo |
| 12. Castellón de la Plana | 29. Málaga | 46. Valencia |
| 13. Ciudad Real | 30. Murcia | 47. Valladolid |
| 14. Córdoba | 31. Navarra | 48. Vizcaya |
| 15. Coruña, La | 32. Orense | 49. Zamora |
| 16. Cuenca | 33. Oviedo | 50. Zaragoza |
| 17. Girona | 34. Palencia | |

found Galicia too spiny a burr to swallow. One of these was Napoleon.

Galicia not only presents outsiders with a determined human resistance, but the countryside itself is hard to penetrate. It is the most difficult corner of Spain to reach by ground transportation. The still, deep fjords come in from the Atlantic, sending mists over the hills, pastures and woodlands where pigs fatten on acorns and where the small grain bins standing beside the farm houses preserve an ancient rural architecture. But back of the rolling hills rise mountains and remote moorlands which impeded the progress of the Duke of Wellington as a military commander, as well as that of George Borrow, a famous Protestant Bible salesman who travelled in Galicia in the same century.

But neither distance nor difficulty of passage slowed up the long line of pilgrims that came into Galicia in the Middle Ages from every part of the Christian world. Journey's end was Santiago de Compostela, which is understood to house the remains of St. James the Apostle, patron saint of Spain. Most modern pilgrims come by automobile or airplane; they no longer need be flanked along the route by knights hospitalers on the lookout for Saracens. Pilgrim travel is not now as heavy as it was, but the city still stands as a spiritual center of importance as well as a place of great educational and artistic attraction. Like many university and cathedral cities of Spain, it is rich in medieval architecture.

Galicia is not yet well integrated into modern Spain, nor does it compete very strongly with other regions in industry and trade. Vigo and La Coruña are close to the trade routes and the fishing banks of the Atlantic. Their shipping, fishing and food canning is mostly regional in nature, although tinned fish is exported in quantity and fresh fish is sold elsewhere in Spain. Galician forest products, building stone and food products are also shipped out by truck and railroad. The Roman iron and tin mines are little used now. There is some primeval forest remaining, almost all that is left in Spain except in the Pyrenees.

Galicia is not an opulent region, but neither is it as poor as the uplands of Central Spain.

THE BASQUE PROVINCES

Not all the two and one half million Basques live in Spain. Only one and a quarter million of them live in the Spanish provinces of Alava, Viscaya and Guipúzcoa. These are the official Basque provinces. Navarra, mostly Basque, is listed separately among the regions of Spain. The French Basques live immediately across the boundary in the north. There are many Basques in the Americas and many more Spanish Americans of Basque descent, particularly in Argentina, Uruguay and Chile. More than ten thousand Basques live in the states of Idaho, Oregon and Nevada.

The Basques have been located since early times in the mountains fronting on the great international bight of the Atlantic, the Bay of Biscay. They have been in a position thus to control both the sea approaches to the Spanish-French border and the mountain passes between the two countries. They were in this place long before there was a Spain or a France, and before international boundaries had meaning. The Basque families, always distinct in language and culture from their neighbors, have expanded and contracted their territory throughout history. At one time in the Middle Ages they moved as far as Gascony. At various times they have been spread across considerably more ground, both north and south of their present fixed location, which in addition to their Spanish provinces includes Labourd, Soule and Lower Navarre on the French side.

Taking full advantage of their strategic location, the Basques have always played a strong part in the frontier affairs of Spain and France. Taking similar advantage of their position on the sea, they have become a significant maritime and trading people. They are Spain's greatest shipbuilders and marine merchants.

But location alone does not account for the continuity of the Basques as a people. The oldest surviving racial group in Europe, with the oldest language and the oldest society, they are nevertheless among the most advanced people in the world. It is this contra-

dictory character, deeply conservative and highly enterprising, that has maintained the Basques intact and with a comparatively high living standard in generally poor Spain. The physical endurance of the Basques is legendary. Both the national dance, *la jota*, and the national sport, *jai alai*, require it, but it is more fundamental than these expressions of traditional culture. Yet the Basque capacity for modern learning is equally high. Their business organization and technical proficiency have helped give them industrial pre-eminence in Spain.

The Basques occupy a unique political and cultural position in Spain. Because in pre-Roman times they occupied a much larger part of the north of Spain, it is likely that there are traces of the Basque temperament in the Asturians, Castilians and Aragonese. Whether or not this is true, the Basque has been called the soul of Spain. It is certain that the Basques, converted to Christianity by the Romans, have played an extraordinary part in the preservation of the religion in the peninsula. Also they have produced some of the church's great leaders, including St. Francis Xavier and St. Ignatius Loyola. At the same time, they are the most insistent separatists within the Spanish political union, with the possible exception of the Catalans. In the recent Spanish civil war they were repelled by the anticlerical features of the republican regime while attracted by its promise of independence.

This kind of split personality has been characteristic of the Basque people throughout their long and uneasy association with other Spanish groups. Religion was almost the only gift Rome was able to make to them. In the times of the crusades they fought Christian Charlemagne and the Muslim emirs of Zaragoza with equal ferocity—and success. Neither Roman, Visigoth, Frank nor Moor held any terrors for the Basque soldier. The Basques forced even the medieval Castilians to recognize their democratic rights. Since these were lost and their old capital at Pamplona taken from them in the final unification of the nation, the Basques have supported practically every political movement opposed to the central authority of Spain.

Of the limited territory left officially to the Spanish Basques,

Guernica is the spiritual and Bilbao the metropolitan center. The city of Bilbao is neither old nor large, founded only in the fourteenth century and claiming no more than a quarter of a million people. But it is the second Spanish seaport and the center of Spain's heavy industry. Located in an area of rich raw materials near the mouth of the Nervión River, it is well suited to manufacturing and trade. Bilbao is the capital of Viscaya province.

The capital of tiny Guipúzcoa is San Sebastián, which is also the summer capital of the Spanish Government and of Madrid society. It is a clean, modern seaside city. Victoria is the inland metropolis of the Basque provinces and the capital of Alava. It has small, diversified industries but is largely a farm and lumber center. Alava is mountainous and forested, almost Alpine in appearance. Its air is bright and clear, unlike the soft, diffused light of the Biscay coast.

NAVARRA

The kingdom of the Pyrenees, called *Navarre* in French and *Navarra* in Spanish, is Basque in population and reached the height of its influence in the medieval affairs of western Europe in the eleventh century. Today it is a sprawling, thinly populated district given over to pasture, forestry and marginal agriculture. Although much larger than the combined provinces now officially listed as Basque, it supports only 400,000 people.

The importance of the old kingdom grew out of the quality of its people and the strategic location of Pamplona, its capital city. Pamplona dominated the west central passes of the Pyrenees and the upper Ebro River valley. The pass at Roncesvalles was the traditional invasion route to and from France. In A.D. 824 the Basque chieftain, Íñigo Aritza, was elected king of Pamplona. As the city's control was expanded, the kingdom called itself Navarra. Sancho III of Navarra ruled over nearly all of Christian Spain, but its various kingdoms were divided up among his sons. The kings of France were also kings of Navarre from Philip IV until Louis XVI, and until recently the kings of Spain were also kings of Navarra.

From the defeat of Charlemagne's rear guard at Roncesvalles into

modern times, the Basques of Navarra have been known for their democratic and independent spirit and their personal courage. Present-day Pamplona is best known for its annual custom of running the bulls through the city's streets, an event described with fervor by the late Ernest Hemingway.

CATALONIA

The Catalans occupy the eastern sector of the green northern zone of Spain. They face the Gulf of Lyon and the Mediterranean Sea. They are both European and Mediterranean in character and were for some centuries the principal Iberian maritime power. They are the most populous and most Europeanized of the three northern separatist regions of Spain, reflecting their origin as a French march. Barcelona is the most populous province of Spain. The four Catalan provinces, which also include Gerona, Lérida and Tarragona, count a little more than three and one half million people.

Catalonia borders France and Andorra in the Pyrenees. The province of Gerona is the extreme northeast province of Spain. Ingress into it and to the Costa Brava from France is from the city of Perpignan. Gerona is mountainous and green, dotted with small farmsteads that look more like those of France than of Spain. The town, known to the Romans as Gerunda, is older than history. From the windows and balconies of some of its houses, one can fish in the River Oñar.

Farther west in the Pyrenees lies Lérida, a long, narrow province that includes the basin of the Segre down to where it joins the Ebro. Old Roman Ilerda, the capital, is located in the south of the province, which is a center of olive oil, wine, grain and sugar beet production.

South of Lérida and Barcelona is the province of Tarragona, which has a long seacoast once contested between Rome and Carthage. The port of Tarragona was an early administrative capital and commercial center. It is known best now for its wines, liqueurs and spices.

Barcelona is the capital of the central province of Catalonia. The

people of Barcelona are the Parisians of Spain. They are imaginative, shrewd, artistic and voluble. They display very little of the dour personality of the people of the *meseta*. Their language is a southern *languedoc*, the speech of the French troubadors. They have given Catalonia their personality and inspired its resistance to Spanish nationality. They are separatists like the Basques but, unlike the Basques, their real affinity is to the French tradition. Whereas the Basques forced their way into France, the Catalans forced their way into Spain.

Barcelona was, until recently, the largest city in Spain and would still be so except for an extraordinary national effort to enlarge and develop the capital city. Its population is one million and a half, while Madrid has nearly two million people. Barcelona is the foremost seaport and the largest trading center of Spain, manufacturing textiles, machinery, electrical equipment and other goods. Its business district resembles that of a progressive European city. Its trade fair attracts international exhibits. It is the only truly international city in Spain.

Barcelona has flourished since early times, but its present character and importance was established by Charlemagne, who needed a stable front against the Moors. The limits of the march of Barcelona marked the limit of Christian influence on the east coast of Spain. Since Catalonia had served the same purpose for Rome in stabilizing the Carthaginian frontier, the Ebro River marks a subtle but real ethnic and cultural boundary on the peninsula. Those to the north derive basic traditions from the Roman and Frankish, those to the south from the North African. Since the Moorish influence is stronger elsewhere in Spain than it is in Catalonia, the difficulties of mutual understanding and cooperation between Catalonia and Castilian Spain are increased.

Since medieval times the Catalans have enjoyed their own laws, called their own assemblies and settled their own disputes. Like the Basques, they have known a long tradition of democratic community responsibility and, like the Basques, they have resisted the successive loss of their communal rights and privileges in the process of the

unification of the nation. Also like the Basques, they have consistently sided with the outsiders and the claimants to the Spanish throne in an effort to preserve their bargaining position and their own autonomy. Catalonia has frequently been in open insurrection against the state. In addition to its own interests, Catalonia, closest to France and therefore closest to the popular French political ideas, carried French republican unrest into royalist Spain. Barcelona has become the center of socialism, syndicalism and anarchism, (as distinct from anarchy), in Spain. Barcelona was first to defend the republican government at the outbreak of the civil war in 1936 and last to surrender to the nationalists. It was the seat of the autonomous Catalan government from 1932 to 1939 and seat of the republican government of Spain during the last four months of the civil war. It is a matter of pathetic irony that this region which had been actively trying to secede from the central government actually provided the central government for a period.

Barcelona reached the pinnacle of its power at the beginning of the fifteenth century when it outshone Venice and Genoa, when its ships were everywhere on the sea and when its consuls dominated every port. Under the Counts of Barcelona it flourished in music, painting and architecture as well as in material well-being. Its long decline began when it became a pawn in the larger power politics of the peninsula, first joined to Aragón and later to triumphant Castile. But Catalonia shares one characteristic in common with the rest of Spain. It survives with grace and equanimity the ebb and flow of temporal power. Modern Catalonia is as vital and as artistic today as it has ever been. Modern Catalan music, art and architecture play a leading part in the life of Spain and indeed in the life of the world.

ANDORRA

The Catalan border area among the high peaks of the Pyrenees includes two unique political units, Llívia and Andorra. Llívia has about two thousand inhabitants. It is a Spanish community lying more than two miles inside French territory. Capital of Roman Sardinia, it was overlooked in the drafting of the Treaty of the

Pyrenees in 1659, which left the villages of Cerdagne to France. Since Llivia was no village, it did not come under the terms of the transfer.

Andorra is not a part of Spain, but is a co-principality or condominium jointly ruled by the president of France and the Bishop of Urgel in the Catalan province of Lérida. Its population of seven thousand is Catalan. Tradition says that Charlemagne granted a charter to the people of Andorra in return for service against the Moors. The territory of Andorra was claimed by the Bishops of Urgel as Cathedral land and by the Counts of Foix as heirs of the Counts of Urgel. The dispute led to joint seignorage in 1278. The president of France exercises his right as heir to Henry II of Navarre, who was also Henry IV of France.

The principal occupations of the people of Andorra are mining, lumbering, herding and smuggling. For much of the year the principality is snowbound, since it rises to a height of 10,170 feet.

VALENCIA AND MURCIA

South of Catalonia stretches the east coast of Spain, administered as the provinces of Castellón de la Plana, Valencia, Alicante, Murcia and Albacete. The first three comprise generally the territory of the old kingdom of Valencia. The latter two were a part of the kingdom of Murcia. In modern times they are identified as the regions of Valencia and Murcia. They are heavily populated, agricultural and, where watered, moderately prosperous. The Roman, Spanish and Arabic names of the five provinces truly reflect the heterogeneous character of this part of Spain.

The Moorish east coast of Spain begins at the mouth of the Ebro, which divides Tarragona from Castellón. The boundary has been of importance for more than two thousand years. The coast line swings southwestward to Andalusia, forming a hot, dry coastal basin very much like the opposite coast of North Africa. The basin is pinched close to the sea at the Ebro, where the Montes Universales leaves only a narrow strip. It widens near Valencia, narrows again south of Valencia and then merges with the broad valley of the Segura River to

form the wide Murcian plain. The climate of the area is temperate at the Ebro, becoming warmer and more arid in the south; there the coast swings westward, and the land is broadly exposed to the sun from the south, but protected in the north by a mountain barrier against the wind and rain.

The east coast is of vital importance in the economic life of Spain because irrigation, a stable and technically advanced farm population, favorable climate, shipping facilities and other factors make it possible to provide world markets with a continuous flow of specialty produce. But the influence of this region on the agriculture and the economy of large distant areas of the world is greater than its trade. The citrus fruit, melon, alfalfa, date, apricot and almond industries of the west and south of the United States, for example, are extensions of the agriculture developed on the east coast of Spain. Only a few decades ago what is now the city of Los Angeles, California, was an irrigated farm area watered by the same system of ditches that makes the Valencian coast productive, and the master canal was called the *acequia*, the same name the Arabs gave it in Valencia.

Of the Valencian provinces, the poorest is Castellón. Up against Tarragona in the north and the mountains to the west, Castellón is sparsely settled, rough in profile and without adequate communication. Much of the inland part of the province shares the character of the barren areas of Aragón which lie just to the northwest. But Castellón also has a long shore line. One of its features is the spectacular community of Peñíscola built like a fortress out into the sea. In the great Roman Catholic schism, one of the Spanish popes, Pope Luna, built this stronghold on a tiny peninsula, where he held his court while barred from St. Peter's. The papal coat of arms was carved into the façade of the fortress, called by local fishermen, "The Bonnet."

The province of Valencia (and the former kingdom of the same name) constitutes a part of Spain with its individual history going back to the very first settlements of Greeks and other Mediterranean peoples on its shore. It has changed very little since those times. The capital, Valencia, third largest city of Spain, stands a few miles in-

land from the port. The *albufera*, an inland water that is neither lagoon, river nor sea, lies south of the city in the rice district. The Water Tribunal still meets once a week at the cathedral in the city, and there the farmers settle their own irrigation disputes as they have done since as long as can be remembered. The Valencian speaks his own dialect and prides himself on his own culture, as do the men of Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque provinces.

The fertile Valencian strip produces the famous sweet oranges that are shipped to all parts of Europe and have been replanted around the world. Valencia also ships lemons, rice, onions, raisins, olive oil and wine. The city manufactures processed foods, furniture, chemicals, tobacco and silk. Valencian blue tiles are prized in all Spanish-speaking countries.

These products constitute a vital part of the Spanish export trade, but they no longer enjoy the world prestige they had in the days of the Moors and immediately afterward. Valencia's days of glory were between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries, a long and rich period in the development of a culture transplanted from older parts of the world but uniquely Spanish in its Valencian version. The height of economic prosperity and artistic expression was reached in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries when it rivaled Barcelona and when its great university was founded under charter of Pope Alexander VI.

Sagunto, north of Valencia, was a Roman frontier town that resisted the Carthaginian advance until it was ruthlessly destroyed by Hannibal. The resulting second Punic War firmly established Valencia as a Roman colony. The Romans were followed by the Visigoths who in turn were replaced in the eighth century by the Moors. It became an independent emirate, ruled by the Cid himself at one time. James I of Aragón conquered Valencia midway in the thirteenth century and in the course of time the kingdom lost its identity, merging with the Spanish state.

The third Valencian province, Alicante, the Roman Lucentium, is also peopled by small landholders in the Moorish tradition, its remarkably rich *huertas* or gardens alternating along the coastal

strip with salt marshes. The population is dense, about 270 to the square mile. The fruit orchards are abundant, numbering two and a half million trees. It is also a rich vineyard country, producing sweet wines and grapes and raisins.

South of Alicante the climate becomes dry and hot, varying widely between winter and summer. This is the old Moorish province of Todmir, rich in silk, oranges and ores. The city of Mursiya, the modern Murcia, became capital of the kingdom when it broke free of the Córdoba Caliphate. At their height the kings of Murcia controlled more of the eastern coast than the present provinces of Murcia and Albacete. The Segura River valley bears close resemblance to the coastal valleys of North Africa in appearance, architecture, population, farm and orchard products and methods of cultivation. Indeed, it bears the Arab stamp more heavily than any other part of Spain; only its Gothic cathedral and other evidences of religious difference mark the cultural change since the thirteenth century.

The Carthaginians occupied this coast and built the port of Cartagena in the third century before Christ. In some archaic period, perhaps the Greek, there flourished a culture on the Segura plain capable of producing the beautiful and enigmatic figure called the Lady of Elche, now shown in the Prado museum in Madrid.

Albacete rises into the *meseta* inland behind Murcia. This is a featureless, dry province with only 65 people to the square mile. Nevertheless, it sustains itself with grain and sheep, olives, saffron and peaches. Moorish skill made the capital city well known for its cutlery, although it never attained the fame of Toledo for swords.

The Murcia-Alicante plain runs southward to join Almería which was governed by Granada as a result of Arab and Christian power politics of the thirteenth century. This junction is a notable one because the boundary between Murcia and Almería is one of the few in Spain not anchored to some natural and secure barrier. Indeed, the entire eastern coastal plain from the Ebro River to the Cape of Gata is an exception to the minute regionalization of Spain. As the result of the freedom of movement possible here, the eastern people are even more mixed in ethnic origin than are those of the rest of

the peninsula. They show more similarity from province to province, for once full occupation was established as in the case of the Moors, it was usually a long and relatively peaceful one. This left unusual scope for the spread of culture and the development of arts and techniques in an intermingling of people and ideas. In this respect, the east of Spain has been more fortunate than the rest of the country.

But this characteristic applies to a very narrow coastal strip. For even the provinces fronting the sea soon rise westward into the broken gorges and heights that are more common to this part of Spain. Here, between the sea and the mountains where civilized life seems to have come awake early in Spain, there is spread a continuous record of busy human affairs. Many promontories still lift towers of primeval rock on which watchmen once stood guard over the fields and homes below.

ANDALUSIA

Nearly one fifth of all Spaniards live in the eight southern provinces now called Andalusia. Closest to Africa, to most of the early Mediterranean powers and to the New World, the Andalusians come nearest idealizing the non-Spaniard's notion of Spain. Andalusia is the tourist's Spain. It is the Spain of the travel posters, the "Spanish" dance and "Spanish" music. The fact that it is considered exotic by the other Spaniards is rarely appreciated outside of Spain. But throughout Iberian history it has been thought of as a region apart. In Roman days it was administered separately as Baetica. In Crusader days it was the land of the Saracen. But the Andalusian does not consider himself exotic. The struggle for a livelihood occupies him in spite of the relative gentleness of the climate and the landscape. The essential difference is that somewhere along the way, perhaps in the flush of Moorish prosperity, he learned to enjoy himself in his spare time.

Andalusia has its share of the forbidding mountainous area of Spain. The Sierra Nevadas are the highest mountains south of the French border. The bulky Sierra Morena barricades the Andalusian

plain from the *meseta* in the north and forms the political boundary between the south and Castile. It divides the valley of the Guadalquivir, which is the heart of Andalusia, from the bed of the Guadiana which reaches back into the Castilian plains of La Mancha. This accident of topography made it possible for the Moorish power to persist two or three centuries beyond the time when the momentum of the Christian reconquest might have been expected to sweep the peninsula clean. In so doing, it made it possible for Andalusia to develop fully its social, ethnic, cultural and economic characteristics and give Spain one more region difficult to assimilate into the unified nation.

In addition to the plain of which Córdoba was queen, matching its Moorish sister, Damascus, in the east, Andalusia includes the kingdom of Granada and the narrow sun-beaten coasts of Almería and Málaga, the shore of the Straits of Gibraltar and Cádiz on the Atlantic. It thus takes in almost all the permanent Moorish monuments left in Spain, including the Alhambra, the Giralda tower at Seville and the Mosque of Córdoba.

Almería is really an extension of the Murcian coast, rounding the corner of the Sierra Nevada where that mountain range forms the square southeast corner of the peninsula, facing Morocco. The port was founded by the Phoenicians, probably to ship out the iron ore it still exports along with the grapes and fruits for which the region is now more famous. It served as a seaport for Granada until it fell to the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabel. The province back of the port is dry and mountainous, difficult of access and sparsely peopled.

Málaga, although smaller than Almería and backed into the Sierra, is nevertheless, more prosperous and more populous. Like Almería, Málaga was both Phoenician and Granadan, with a long history of occupation by contending powers between these two eras. As a first class port, it has always been a rich prize. Its greatest import is European tourists and its greatest exports have been Málaga grapes and wine, raisins, fruit, fish and olive oil. It is one of the finest winter resorts on the Mediterranean.

Cádiz, on the Atlantic, polyglot, politically conscious and enterprising, may be the oldest city in Europe. It shares the Phoenician origins of Spain's other south coast ports and, like most of them, was located because of the trade in metals, in this case tin and the silver of Biblical Tarshish. The fortunes of the city have risen and fallen with the fortunes of the various rulers of Spain, but it knew its greatest days as the Roman port of Gádes and as a principal Spanish point of embarkation for the American colonies. The province includes Jerez, which makes and ships its sherry wine to all parts of the world.

Huelva is farther north on the Atlantic coast, its port also associated with the adventure into the New World. Columbus sailed out of the estuary of the Rio Tinto in 1492 and returned to it in 1493. Hernando Cortéz landed there in 1528 after his conquest of Mexico. Huelva still exports the copper and sulphur of the Rio Tinto mines. In earlier times it also shipped tin for the manufacture of bronze. The province of Huelva, thinly peopled, borders Portugal and extends into the Sierra Morena.

Portugal had no separate identity until the twelfth century. Roman Baetica included at least Algarve province, which retains the characteristics of Andalusia and thus differs noticeably from northern Portugal as the Spanish Andalusian differs from the Galician.

The capital of Baetica was Seville, which has become again, as it has so often in the history of the peninsula, the metropolitan center of Andalusia. It is first today in manufacture and trade, an archepiscopal see and a university city. The Archives of the Indies, located in Seville, draw a stream of scholars from outside Spain. The city's eminence in the south is due to its location on the Guadalquivir and the natural riches of its countryside. Its river port accommodates ocean-going vessels. Its products are many and varied, from the tobacco manufacture celebrated in the opera *Carmen* to heavy machinery. But it is more significant in the life of modern Spain as the center of a regional culture older than the more vigorous and politically dominant regions of the north.

Andalusia has given its own flavor to North and South America.

From the southern Andes to the northern Rockies, a span of ten thousand miles, a cowboy is a *vaquero* or buckaroo. Likewise, the *sombrero* and the rest of the costume of the rider, the manner of handling horse, burro and cow, and the music of the guitar are Andalusian. Andalusia synthesized Crete and Phoenicia and Greece, Arabia and North Africa and Rome and, after placing on them the Iberian stamp, transferred them to the Western Hemisphere.

Andalusia assumed this special role of purveyor of culture long ago. Unlike most of Spain, it is fully vulnerable from the sea. The unending beauty of its landscape and climate induce gentleness rather than vigor, refinement rather than innovation. As a result, one would expect a people more adapted to seducing a conqueror than to resisting him and more adapted to art and philosophy than to war. Indeed, the Arabic philosophers brought Andalusia lasting prestige in the world, as have the later Christian artists like Velázquez and Murillo. Arab and Christian rulers found it impossible to develop sufficient martial spirit here to defend the land from the next wave of aggression. It has been overrun at least ten times in history. When the Moorish civilization became rich and soft here, new waves of wild Berbers, crossing the Strait, carried it away in a sea of swords. And in turn these tribes, softened by Andalusian living, were carried away by the next wave from beyond the Atlas mountains.

While Seville has grown and prospered in recent times, Córdoba has settled into its past. The great province of Córdoba, once the seat of the Omayyad caliphate, the glory of western Islam, now has only a little more than three quarters of a million people. The capital city is a living museum only faintly reminiscent of the intellectual and commercial vigor its great Moorish and Jewish citizens gave it. Its mosque and bridge and narrow streets seem to today's visitor to be the work of an earlier and superior people. It was, of course, one of the richest and most brilliant cities of the world when Maimonides was teaching and when the Cordovan leather, gold and silver work were sought after.

The melancholy of Córdoba also pervades Granada, although this last capital of the Moors in Spain offers a more modern appearance. The province of Granada, which includes the highest mountain peak entirely within Spain, is partly Alpine in character. It presents dramatic differences in height and valley, wealth and poverty, barren slopes and lush meadows, thus differing sharply in physical appearance as well as in spirit from the valley of the Guadalquivir.

Granada holds as strong a sentimental place in Spanish thought as the political, artistic and commercial place it held in the Moorish power complex. As the Moors were compressed century after century by the southward expanding Christian kingdoms, the last flowering of Arab culture was concentrated here and lasted more than one hundred years after the destiny of the peninsula around had been decided, and even Córdoba and Seville were in the hands of the Castilian kings. So brilliant was this flowering that nearly five centuries later and after the forced exile of the people, it shines through the overlay of Christian religion, Spanish language and industrial revolution. It was finally conquered in a state of political collapse brought about by the fatal feuds of its ruling families. This seemed poetic justice, since the Moors themselves first overran the peninsula in a time of political and military weakness brought on by quarrels among the Visigothic rulers. The Visigoths themselves had settled in during the dissolution of Rome, which itself had been weakened by continual quarrels over the spoils of conquest.

The Alhambra and surrounding buildings and gardens remain. Aside from these antiquities, Granada is a busy city occupied with agriculture and light industry which, although perhaps less vigorous than in Moorish times, represent an important part of the modern Spanish economy. The Vega, the great meadow below the city, still renders harvests that are an exception to the usual modesty of Spanish yields.

Human life has sustained itself in the favored country about Granada for a long time, perhaps longer than anywhere else in Europe, as recent discoveries suggest. Yet the way of living has not changed greatly, except in response to the rise and fall of alien

civilizations centered within the city itself. In the mountains some still live in caves as they were living when the first invaders passed through. These people regard the Roman walls, Moorish towers and Christian belfries with a certain tranquility.

North of Granada is the province of Jaén which, like the north of Córdoba province, is a transition between the warm south and the *meseta* of Castile. Jaén occupies the upper valley of the Guadalquivir and as such is a northeastward extension of Córdoba, with about the same density of population and the same agriculture built around the olive and the grape. Its lead mines are important to Spain. Jaén has never been an important political center, but has usually been content to serve as a prosperous extension of the territories of nearby caliphates. It was an independent kingdom only for a short time. The city enjoys better communications than most inland centers of Spain, due to its location in the valley that opens the way between New Castile and the south.

Andalusia, like the once heavily Arab areas of the eastern coast of Spain, manages to sustain a fairly constant population on the dependable methods of Moorish agriculture. It is a region of large landholders and landless peasants, a situation that in Spain, as in other parts of the world, has led to political crisis. In this respect it differs greatly from the northern strip of Spain which is largely peopled by small farm owners. Likewise, Andalusia's barren areas contrast sharply with places of better soil fertility and rainfall, so that the small landholder is less likely to prosper than one in the north. This situation has arisen partly from the nature of the land and partly from the political history of the region. The Castilian military families were often rewarded for their service to the crown in the long and difficult campaigns against the Saracen by large grants of land which made them, however impecunious in their native villages, landed aristocrats in the new south. It is not unusual to come upon a coat of arms in a small town in Asturias or Santander which records the family name of some modern grandee with a vast Andalusian principality.

THE CASTILIAN MESETA

The Castilian dominates the life of Spain. He has been to Spain what the Norman has been to England. In the development of the United States there has been no such dominant personality, since this country is a voluntary fusion of many dissimilar cultures. The modern Spanish state is the work of Castile. That work is not yet complete.

Castile itself is a political creation. There is no natural region assigned by history to Castile as the lower plain of the Segura River was assigned to Murcia. The crown of Castile, itself simply an ambitious development of the royal family line of León, came in the course of time to administer all that central part of Spain extending from the central Biscay coast in the north to Andalusia in the south, Portugal in the west and the Valencian strip in the east. Aragón will be considered here with Castile because the two kingdoms share the central position on the peninsula, share part of the upland *meseta* and share the labor of construction of a complete integrated nationality. Aragón is a part of the dominant Spanish region and the dominant Spanish political force.

ARAGÓN

Before Castile had emerged from its origins in León, the kingdom of Aragón played out a separate role alongside Navarra. Aragón and Navarra alternately dominated the narrow neck of northern Spain between the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean. They were both in an excellent strategic position to do so. Sometimes they were the associates and pawns of greater powers. But in the course of time Aragón grew to dwarf Navarra and all the regions other than Castile.

Physically, modern Aragón comprises the dry, thinly populated provinces of Huesca, Zaragoza and Teruel, which contain hardly more than one million people. Huesca rises up to France in the Pyrenees and lies between Catalonia and Navarra, extending down to the valley of the Ebro at one point. Huesca is Upper Aragón, a

land steeply pitched from nearly sea level to eleven thousand feet and overlooked by solitary castles and monasteries. The town of Huesca, the Roman Osca, lies on the lower slope among the foothills, where it has had strategic military significance through the wars of several millennia. This large province is now mostly pastoral.

Zaragoza is the central province, lying astride the Ebro. The capital city has been an important communications and administrative center since Caesar Augustus named it after himself. Like Seville and Córdoba, the city of Zaragoza enjoys the advantage of a broad river valley cut into the peninsula. A great deal of the present mercantile and cultural prominence of the city is a heritage of the Moorish occupation. It is a refining, canning and manufacturing center, the only city of importance along the rail and vehicle lines from Barcelona to Madrid. Because of its strategic location it has been involved importantly in the great European, Roman and Arabic power struggles on the peninsula, and because of its size and location it has always been difficult to conquer, as Napoleon discovered.

The third province of Aragón is Teruel, commanding the eastern rim of the central *meseta*. Teruel is almost identical in size and population with Huesca but its characteristics are more like those of Castile. Except for some iron, coal, sulphur, zinc and manganese, the province depends on semiarid agriculture for a poor existence. Because of its position, it was an almost constant battleground in the civil war, the front lines extending across it for two years. The capital city changed hands several times and was almost entirely destroyed.

Aragón has both an internal and an external history, in this respect differing from most Spanish kingdoms but not from Spain itself. The Aragonese adventure into world politics was a result of the inheritance of the crown by a son of Sancho III of Navarra at the beginning of the eleventh century. After this, united first with Navarra and then with Catalonia, the kings of Aragón began driving the Moors south and extending their own rule to Majorca, Minorca, Valencia, Sardinia, Sicily and Naples. The greatest in the

line of Aragonese kings was the Emperor Charles V, who merged the houses of Aragón and Castile with the Hapsburgs and became the first great modern monarch and ruler of the first world empire.

Details of the internal history of Aragón are more informative, since they explain the political development of a people. They have been largely unaffected by the dynastic maneuvers of their royal family except to furnish troops, often mercenary, and taxes. The Aragonese is like the Castilian in administrative and military competence and in his sense of independence, his proud poverty and his deep conviction. Like the Castilian, he is better as ruler or subject than as partner. The political association with Catalonia proved a constant irritation to both sides, and each in the end retained his own language, customs and legal processes. The Aragonese has carefully gained and preserved his own rights as well as his culture. His loyalties are held close to his heart. The ancient exclusive rights of his community, town and district, including the administration of justice, were preserved through war and peace and not lost until the eighteenth century as the nation moved toward modern national organization.

Aragón has likewise developed and husbanded its natural resources, and like most of Spain was given its greatest impetus under the skillful hand of the Moor. As a result, irrigation, specialty farming and manufacture have made it possible for people to survive in a country that would seem at first glance to deny human existence. Cereals, grapes, olives and sugar beets are cultivated in the oases and on tiny watered strips. Two great lateral canals were brought out of the Ebro by the Moors, similar to the archaic lateral canal system along the Tigris River in Mesopotamia, with which the Arab rulers of Spain were familiar. The men who have been able to live in the stark places of lower Aragón are mostly farmers, hunters and shepherds of tremendous personal resource against hunger, the thin, cold, penetrating air of winter and the fatigue of unrewarding labor. Yet, surprisingly, hardly a generation has passed since the beginning of recorded time in which the Aragonese have not been at war.

THE MESETA BORDER PROVINCES

Somewhere in the remote gorges of the Cantabrian Mountains—history says at Covadonga in the province of Asturias—a pre-Castilian hero first defeated the invincible Moorish soldiery. In that act, Castile was born, and the extension of the victory ended with the conquest of Granada. The intervening eight centuries created Castile and the nation. Castile is synonymous with religious war. The motive for the conquest of the peninsula was a religious one, an impulse so strong that it built first the Spanish State, then an empire, until it finally almost destroyed itself. The character of the Castilian has been developed fully in this process of defeat, rebirth, conquest and self-destruction. From the time of the skirmish at Covadonga to the dissolution of the Spanish empire was about one thousand years, from the eighth to the eighteenth centuries.

The Castilian carries within him, as if in his genes, the character of the Spanish nation. He cannot be understood apart from the history of Spain, nor can Spain be understood apart from him.

In the eighth century the pre-Castilians inhabited a few valleys hidden in the mountains of the old kingdom of Asturias. The native stock was Iberian. These people had managed to keep intact in Roman and Visigothic times, but had embraced the religion of Rome. Nearly two thousand years after Roman domination the Asturians were still resisting authority when it did not suit them, and in 1934 the Asturian coal miners went out on strike in a prelude to the Spanish civil war. During the war they distinguished themselves in the same way, first in the bitter siege of Oviedo and then in the heroic actions of their military units known as Dynamiters. Asturias is one of the industrial centers of Spain. Oviedo, once the seat of the Asturian kings, is now a city of mining and manufacturing. Even the Romans mined coal there.

Outside Oviedo, the province of Asturias is sparsely populated because of the rugged nature of the mountains that make up most of its territory, the principal seaport being Gijón on the Bay of Biscay.

The pre-Castilians incorporated Galicia and León into their expanding kingdom. In the tenth century the capital was moved south to León.

León now comprises the provinces of León, Palencia, Salamanca, Valladolid and Zamora. It is a transitional region between the Cantabrian Mountains and the *meseta*. Galicia and Portugal lie in the west. The boundaries of the old kingdom were extended southward as the land was taken from the Moors, in the traditional pattern of the reconquest. Thus León shared with its neighboring northern kingdoms the close frontiers east and west where fellow Christian people lived, while it elongated south into Saracen territory. The region of León is austere in character, thinly populated and backward in method, although there are coal mines and forests in the north near Asturias. Zamora and Salamanca flank Portugal across the upper Duero River basin and into the Sierra de Gata. Both are arid and pastoral, with some marginal agriculture. Their capital cities have been strategic in many wars. The city of Salamanca has been better known as an educational center since its establishment in the thirteenth century. Oddly enough, it was known in Europe both for its Christian theology and its Arabic philosophy. It is the most venerable of the fountainheads of Castilian culture, playing a critical part in the primacy of Castilian language and thought on the peninsula.

The provinces of Palencia and Valladolid lie farther east and higher in the Duero watershed. Grain and wool are their principal products, as throughout the high *meseta*. The city of Valladolid has been important since the early years of the reconquest as capital of the Castilian kings. Much of the history of Spain was made here until the removal of the capital to Madrid. It has been a rival of Salamanca as a seat of learning.

León shares the *meseta* with Aragón and the two Castiles. Old Castile itself was at one time a county of León, lying west of Palencia where both the Duero and the Ebro rise among their narrow defiles. For lack of a traditional name, it was called Castile,

dotted as it was with the castle strongholds of the wars against the Moors.

León thus is older than even Old Castile, although it was in turn an offspring of Asturias in the long historical development of the Castilian people and culture. The eldest son of the king of Spain is always called the Prince of Asturias, while the universities of León consider themselves the mother of the language. Where the Aragonese represent a problem of regional differences solved long ago in favor of Castile, Asturias and León are as close to Castilian as most of the parts of Castile are to each other. Yet the western reaches of both Asturias and León border the Galician province of Lugo and share with it some Germanic and Celtic influences. These areas, too, are outside the *meseta* and thus mother to a people without the Castilian temperament. But these distinctions are not predominant since all this part of Spain except the most remote mountains were long enough under Roman and Moorish rule for the people to acquire laws, language, religion and methods from them.

León at its worst is bleak, with thin, powdery soil, dry stream beds and scarcely enough grass for goats and sheep. But it has also its oak and walnut and chestnut groves and its clear streams. The architecture of its towns is distinct, its houses made of hewn wood, mortar and stone. The Leónese way of making houses and buildings sometimes turns up in faraway places of the earth, like Cebú or San Luis Obispo. Each of the towns and cities of the *meseta* has a distinctive coloring, often like the stone and sand and soil of the region, which identifies it from a distance in the clear air. Salamanca's buildings have a patina acquired during the centuries that gives a dull gold appearance in the sunshine.

Aragón and León flank the *meseta* and spill out upon it, occupying its eastern and western extremities.

The other peripheral provinces are Badajoz and Cáceres, which together form the region called Estremadura in the southwest on the Portuguese border. Here the highlands are cut by the Tagus and

Guadiana Rivers. Estremadura is separated by the Sierra Morena from the comparatively fertile Andalusian valleys and is a sparse grazing pasture at best, although there are some favored places where vineyards, wheat fields and olive groves thrive. This region is an extensive tract of land taken by the Christians from the Moors and largely awarded to the families of the Crusaders. It is a poor land, only sparsely populated and suffering from absentee landlordism and emigration. Many of the conquistadores came from here, impelled toward the new world partly by the impetus of reconquest and partly no doubt by the dream of faraway riches. Cáceres is now a cork and leather center. Badajoz, once the capital of a vast Moorish emirate, looks as if it had known better days. The houses of the small aristocracy, like those of Trujillo, are crumbling above their doorways.

The history of Estremadura has been intertwined with that of Portugal, and the manner of speaking in its provinces is strange to the rest of Spain.

OLD AND NEW CASTILE

Traditional Castile occupies only the heart of upland Spain and its inhabitants number fewer than five million. This population is less than that of Andalusia. But, taken with all of the *meseta* people who are generally called Castilian, they dominate the country numerically as well as politically, geographically and culturally.

The language, the religion and the sense of being Spanish are now common to all Spaniards. But the Castilians could not transmit their individual temperament to the others, and this remains their regional hallmark.

The northernmost province of Old Castile is Santander, until recently the seaside summer residence of the kings. It is the only part of Castile that spills over the Cantabrian Mountains to the Bay of Biscay. This is a tiny province and, as Castilian provinces go, well populated, since it occupies a share of the liveable green strip of northern Spain. The port of Santander is un-Castilian in its industrial development. The sense of political independence of

its population is akin to that of the Asturians, their neighbors to the west.

When Old Castile, split off from León, began to take form as a separate geographic personality, its capital was established at Burgos, south of the Cantabrian Mountains. Burgos was little more than an exposed advanced war camp on the Moorish frontier. The expansion of its territory southward as the campaigns progressed, the assumption of royalty on the part of its rulers and the role it began to play in the politics of the peninsula presaged the ultimate Castilianization of Spain. It meant too that the seat of action had shifted from the mountain fastnesses, where defense and resistance prevailed, to the open camp and aggressive tactical movement.

Burgos is central to the northern *meseta*; it is no accident that this was the capital of the insurgent government under General Franco while his armies were in the field in northern Spain.

The province of Soria is the least populated of all the fifty provinces, except for tiny Alava, a quarter its size. Daily life there is a severe test of man's adaptability to a forbidding environment. So bitter is the upland winter in Soria that to many soldiers on both sides during the civil war, death must have come as a relief. Soria commands the upper Duero and the communications between Aragón and most of Castile. The Roman legions found the people of this part of the *meseta* difficult to conquer. The resistance of its principal place, Numantia, held up the conquest of Spain for 62 years; finally, after a close and hopeless siege of eight months, the inhabitants burned the town and killed themselves. The province of Logroño just to the north is half the size and has a much larger population than Soria. Logroño produces fine table wines for world export. It is one of the surprising characteristics of the peninsula that the rich vineyards of La Rioja should be so close to Soria where a grazing animal finds it difficult to come upon grass. This was once part of Navarra but had to be yielded to Castile in the final shaping of the nation.

Segovia and Avila extend Old Castile southward to the mountain barrier of the Guadarramas and form the geographical heart

of the *meseta*. They may be considered the typical upland provinces of Spain. Where there is water or some other natural feature of use to man, there is a village. There the people of the district live. The farmers come out onto the plateau or valley or mountainside at dawn with oxen, work their distant grain fields and return at nightfall, often to sleep behind the stone walls built a thousand years or more ago. Outside the towns lie distant, broken horizons and an occasional lone band of sheep. In a few of the still wooded valleys the Spanish bulls are raised for the ring. The costume of the peasant is timeless. Walking women twist wool on a hand spindle, since to let a waking hour go without labor is not only a sin but invites starvation. Some small watercourses cut the plains. There are remains of castles, Roman aqueducts and Moorish works, and occasional thin groves of trees to recall that this once was much more liveable country.

It is a land that moves most observers to melancholy.

Only the two beautiful capital cities of these provinces high up against the pine-clad mountain range couple the past with a vital present. Segovia is one of the world's most spectacular small cities, displaying a treasure of architectural relics on a rocky ledge above the plains. Isabela was proclaimed queen of Castile in its castle, the residence of kings. But this is the past. Segovia's commercial importance was lost with the decline of the Spanish wool industry in the eighteenth century.

Avila, whose history dates only from medieval times, is about the same size and serves the same purpose, that of a rural market center. People come from other countries to see the wall around the city.

The Sierra de Guadarrama is the highest and most solid link in the cordillera system that divides both the *meseta* and the peninsula into north and south. It served as an uneasy frontier line between Christian and Muslim throughout the middle years of the reconquest when Castile had succeeded in organizing strength in the north but had not yet reached superiority. For the Christian knights, it was the point of equilibrium, which, once passed, led to

full nationhood and victory. Travelers in the Middle Ages could tell when they had crossed the frontier by the sounds on the morning air, horns on the Saracen side, bells on the Christian side.

New Castile is larger than the older region north of the Guadarramas, different in its population distribution, somewhat more Arab in aspect and with a slight relaxation of the Castilian culture from the preciseness of Valladolid, Salamanca, Segovia and Avila. But it is the *meseta* still. Guadalajara and Cuenca are almost as bleak as Soria and Burgos north of the mountains, and their combined population is only half a million people scattered across a vast upland of more than eleven thousand square miles. In Galicia there are two and one half million people in a smaller area.

The province of Cuenca encompasses the headwaters of the Tagus and the Guadiana, which flow southwestward into Portugal. The mountains that give birth to these riverbeds are part of a system extending northward through Soria to Logroño, where the Duero rises. In Cuenca these mountains provide the western boundary of Valencia, separating the *meseta* from the coastal plain. They also form the eastern wall enclosing La Mancha, the high plains of south central Spain celebrated in *Don Quixote*. The city of Cuenca, which shows a marked similarity in size and function to the capitals of Guadalajara, Avila and Segovia, is built spectacularly over an upper gorge of the Valencian river of Jucar. The houses hang like birds' nests from the cliffs. Cuenca, like Soria, dominates a passage from the coast to inland Spain and for this reason has been of strategic military importance. In less organized days this passage must have been refuge for coastal families escaping into the mountains to avoid warlike landing parties or hostile tribes wandering by way of the sea. Like most of the eastern escarpment of the *meseta*, the course of the Jucar is favorable to cave dwelling and, because of its broken nature, furnishes hidden coves where water is available and where there is shelter from the deadly wind of the steppes. Throughout the peninsula there are relics of such a life, which must have been the normal existence of the Iberian peoples for a long time.

Ciudad Real and Toledo are also large, barren provinces with few people, occupying the heart of the southern *meseta* with its characteristics of hot summers, cold winters and largely denuded countryside. They are lower on the Tagus and the Guadiana than Cuenca, but still above the Portuguese and Andalusian river plains.

Ciudad Real is farthest south of the *meseta* provinces, reaching to the Sierra Morena and the traditional boundary with Andalusia. This province includes the Almadén mines, the richest mercury deposits in the world, which account for one-third of world production.

For more than two thousand years Toledo, once Toletum, has been an important seat of power in the political organization of Iberia. Much of that time it has been the pivotal city and capital. It is the center of the Spanish church, its archbishops being the primates of Spain. These Spanish primates are of unusual importance in the Catholic world because of the traditional relationships between the Spanish church and the Holy See in Rome. Toledo was of key importance in the civil war, and relief of its citadel by nationalist forces was an early turning point in the fortunes of the two sides. The siege of the Alcázar provided one of the lasting traditions of the conflict.

Although it was the Visigothic capital, attaining this way its primacy in the religious organization of the nation, Toledo's zenith came, as to many Spanish cities, under Moorish rule, where first it was the seat of an emirate and later a kingdom. Arab, Spanish and Jewish culture flourished there together. Arab craftsmanship made Toledo sword blades among the world's finest and Toledo silk and wool in demand wherever there was trade. Much of this brilliance lasted into Castilian times when Toledo was the residence of the Emperor Charles V and Philip II, but it declined in the sixteenth century.

In addition to its religious significance, Toledo is an important cultural city, perhaps the most important in Spain, since it preserves side by side Gothic, Moorish and Jewish architectural monuments of significance. The human tragedy of Spain's ethnic and cultural

history is more evident here than elsewhere. El Greco, the mystic painter, has left his works in all parts of the city. It is a tourist magnet that attracts not only curiosity seekers but serious students. Although from a distance Toledo looks still almost exactly as El Greco painted it, its narrow streets are now usually congested by sight-seeing buses.

The province shared in the commercial decline of the city but, like all of the tableland, it supports a farming population in precarious economic balance. It has also its occasional fertile strips and its irrigation projects.

Had it not been for the deliberate selection of Madrid as site for the national capital, Toledo might have retained its administrative role by virtue of its central location on the peninsula. But in 1561 Philip II found the more central point on the Manzanares River where a Moorish fortress stood. His decision to construct a capital and to provide it with communications out to all the regions was a critical one in the unification and development of Spain; it followed the Castilian policy of balancing powerful and conflicting elements in national life so as to preserve the supremacy and freedom of action of the Crown.

Madrid is more than the capital and the largest city in Spain. It is the point of central impulse, the only point from which it is possible to speak for Spain or direct its actions. Its fall in the civil war was the real end of the war as far as most Spaniards were concerned. Its revolt against Napoleon began the guerrilla resistance that ended in French retirement from the peninsula. The railroads and highways of Spain are tied together there. Industries that can be carried on away from certain prime materials sources are concentrated there. The University of Alcalá was transferred to the capital, where it now flourishes. The Prado Museum established there has brought together the great Spanish paintings.

Exactly at the city limits of Madrid the *meseta* appears again, filling the horizon. This abruptness is typical of the Castilian city, which is conceived as a fortress on the plains. But Madrid does not appear as a walled stronghold like Burgos and Avila. It has been

unable to take on the coloration of its surroundings. The other cities of Spain are the metropolitan expression of regions. Valencia, Barcelona and Bilbao could exist only where they have grown. Madrid has no region. It is the only Spanish city in Spain.

ISLANDS AND POSSESSIONS

THE BALEARICS

A little less than half a million Spaniards live on the islands of Majorca, Minorca and Ibiza, incorporated into the province of the Balearics. Favored by climate, they have become popular as a place of retirement for Spaniards and foreigners. In the general dispossession of the Moor, they came under control of Catalonia, then mistress of the seas. The dialect they speak is a variation of Catalan.

The Catalan culture is laid over Iberian, Phoenician, Greek, Carthaginian, Byzantine and Arab. The Moors developed the agriculture of their island kingdom, filling it with orchards and vineyards. The pace of its life today is nearer Moorish than Catalan.

THE CANARIES

The volcanic Canary Islands are about twice the size of the Balearics and support about twice as many people. They live not in the Mediterranean but in the Atlantic off the Moroccan coast. They are divided into two provinces, Gran Canaria and Tenerife, about equal in population. The Spanish call the Canaries the Fortunate Isles because of the subtropical abundance of their life.

In the fifteenth century the Castilian kings laid claim to the Canaries, peopled at that time by a race known as the Guanches. Because of their location, the islands played an important part in early Spanish navigation of the Atlantic and in the long contest with the British for control of the seas. The islands are not named for canary birds; the birds are named for the islands. The name of the islands is derived from the Roman word for dog.

THE AFRICAN PROVINCES

Four new African provinces have been established by the Spanish Government. They are Ifni, Spanish Sahara, Fernando Po and Rio Muni, the latter two popularly known as Spanish Guinea.

Ifni, about 40 miles long by 15 miles wide, lies on the Atlantic coast of Morocco and constitutes an enclave with an outlet to the sea, the port of Sidi Ifni.

The Spanish Sahara includes Rio de Oro and Sekia el Hamra. Together these are about 105,000 square miles in size. This area also faces the Atlantic, located just south of Morocco and north of the Mauritanian coast. There are less than 14,000 permanent residents of the Spanish Sahara, but 30,000 nomads drive their flocks through during the rainy season. United States petroleum companies are exploring in the desert under Spanish permit.

Rio Muni lies on the Guinea coast south of Cameroun. The island of Fernando Po is off the Cameroun coast. Both are tropical, producing coffee, cacao, hardwoods and other specialties. Most of their 215,000 inhabitants are African.

Spain has in recent years turned over to Morocco all of the former Spanish Moroccan protectorate except for several fragments of territory along the coast. The cities of Ceuta and Melilla are now a part of metropolitan Spain. Both are of some strategic importance. Melilla has belonged to the Spanish crown since 1491, before Granada fell. Ceuta is a fortified port opposite Gibraltar, while Melilla is situated on a promontory off the Rif coast, connected with the mainland. Ceuta has a population of 62,000 and Melilla 86,000. Spain also owns some small islands off the north coast of Morocco.

III *Political Organization*

NATIONAL unity is the first requirement of the Spanish state, as it is of any state. The inability to unite prevents the birth of nations and the inability to preserve unity foreshadows their death. Various momentary groupings of people have come about in the continuous movement of men, but few have resulted in nationality. Many of those that resulted for a time in nationality have since disintegrated because of internal differences among regions and classes. The Roman empire was one of many political associations that disappeared because its parts were disunited. The barbarian excursions into its territory were relatively unimportant. What was important was that the integrity of that territory had already been prejudiced by internal difficulties.

While unity is the basic requirement, the modern state needs to expand from this base into a working political and economic arrangement. Without unity, effective organization is difficult or impossible. Without organization, the state is unable to meet the material requirements of its people; or perhaps it is better to say that without an organized basis for cooperative effort the people are unable to meet their own requirements.

The problems of unity and internal organization have preoccupied the rulers of Spain since the nation established its identity. There have been only three all-Spanish governments—Roman, Visigothic and Castilian. The Moorish caliphate of Córdoba came close to being Spanish, but did not at any time embrace all of Spain. The present government of Spain is a continuation of the Castilian kingdom under a peculiarly Spanish form of regency.

Roman rule, although administered in three colonial districts for convenience, was universal. Only the inaccessible mountain areas sheltered the Basque and Lusitanian holdouts. The process of Roman subjugation of Spain was long and difficult, but when it was finished Roman citizenship was bestowed on the Spaniards; they were provided with leadership which they respected; they lived under a single religion, language and law. For the first time Spain was a unit. There was firmness and method in the Roman rule. The position of each individual and community was explicitly set forth. In the Roman society each individual and class had a duty to perform and each knew what his return was to be. The productive capacity of the colony depended on each element's performance of its assigned function. Classes and functions became traditional, although they were gradually changed to suit new conditions as the empire developed.

The Visigoths were unlike the Romans in tradition and temperament, but they respected and to some extent adopted the Roman culture. Having left their northern homes long before and having lived elsewhere in the empire before reaching Spain, they had acquired a kind of Roman polish. As self-declared heirs of the western part of the empire, they took over the Roman population and the Roman machinery by which they were governed. They replaced the Roman garrison and the civil administrators with Visigoths and assumed full responsibility for the Spanish state as legal successors to the Roman rulers. In time the Visigothic and Roman populations fused, but the administration of Spain continued in the erratic hands of the Visigothic royalty and nobility until, in the midst of dynastic confusion, they were replaced by the Moors. Apparently the transfer of power at the top from Visigoth to Moor did not inspire the population of Spain to heroic resistance.

It was the Muslim revitalization of the Arabs and of the Berber peoples of North Africa that gave them the impetus to cross the Strait of Gibraltar and penetrate as far as southern France. In Spain they did in a few months what it took the legions of Rome two centuries to accomplish. This was only a part of the Islamic expan-

sion. It was the western reach of a military explosion that carried the Arab Empire to the frontiers of China. Before the Muslim wave reached Spain it had engulfed the centers of learning and art of the Near East. The militant Arabs had already incorporated the peoples of the Sassanid Empire and the Syrian and Egyptian provinces of the Byzantine Empire. The Arabic language proved to be a magnificent vehicle for the translation and transmission of Hellenic and Persian thought. The Spaniards as well as the Arabs benefitted from intimate contact with the fountainheads of two civilizations. This was a tremendous intellectual and artistic endowment that gave Spain early preeminence among the countries of Europe.

But their Moorish experience did not to the same degree advance the political capacities of the Spaniards. It did not give them a purposeful sense of nationality. Once the Moorish rulers were secure in Spain they set about to enjoy the fruits of their conquest. As elsewhere in the Arab Empire, they adapted to the environment of the conquered peoples. They provided new technical skills and encouraged material development. Their purpose was to perpetuate good living. Even their great caliphates were dedicated to the requirements of the ruling family. One of the Córdoba caliphs spent 25 years building an elaborately beautiful palace for his 6300 wives, concubines and eunuchs.

This was a great contrast to the Roman administrators, who displayed a solid political capacity based on careful inquiry and experience in the field of government. The Moors improvised where the Romans planned. The difference between the Roman idea of the organized state and the Arab idea of a place in which to live well was somewhat like the difference between Roman and Arabic numerals. One is solid, the other agile.

If the Moorish rulers ever had a sense of national purpose in the western sense, it was weakened by the very opulence of the life they created. Spain's sense of civic purpose and sense of nationality has been provided by the Castilians. It was born in them early and grew strong in material adversity.

The modern Spanish State was under construction, politically

and socially speaking, through the nearly eight centuries when Castile, its predecessor kingdoms and its associates held the north of Spain and the Moors held the south. The construction was slow and painful. It represents the longest single era in Spain's history. The most important fact in that period is the complexity of the relationship between Moors and Christians. It is out of the complexity that Spain has emerged. It is a mistake to suppose, for the sake of simplicity, that all good was on one side and all evil on the other, that there was at all times a direct Christian-Muslim conflict, or a Nordic-Semitic conflict, or even that there was a constant boundary line between the north and the south. The opposing forces were not always clearly identified, nor were their purposes clear. The fact is that as soon as the Christian people in the northern mountains recovered from their first fright, the peninsula was plunged into a series of local wars, as often civil as international, and for several centuries indecisive. It is significant that the great national hero of Spain, the Cid, was a mercenary captain identified with local politics. He is revered in Spain not as a Christian hero against the Saracen, for he fought on both sides with equal vigor, but because he had the personal qualities of courage and aristocratic bearing appealing to the Spanish people. During the period of the Spanish crusades, Moorish and Christian rulers fought together against other allied Moorish and Christian states. Leaders and communities on both sides revolted against their kings. Valencia overthrew its Moorish caliph, established its own emirate, was captured by a Christian army, recaptured by a North African army, captured again by a Christian army, all within a comparatively short period.

During this disoriented time of local conflicts, the country people on both sides were going about the business of individual survival. Farmers were putting to practical use the agricultural skills brought from more advanced countries by the Arabs. Town and city people learned Arabic and absorbed mathematics, music, philosophy and art. Neither race nor religion was an issue among the people, at least where they were left to themselves.

But by the eleventh century the widening struggle for control

of the peninsula had begun to grip both Muslim and Christian. The Berber fanatics arriving from North Africa met their match in the religiously motivated Castilians. Tolerance, learning, creature comforts, and vital resources began to be sacrificed along with human lives, at first only in bursts of destruction followed by periods of recuperation, then in a grimly mounting crescendo.

In the last centuries of the reconquest, most of the advantages were on the Christian side. Their growing ascendancy on the fields of battle gave the Castilians time to consolidate their position among the rival Christian kingdoms. The policy of Castile was not simply to dislodge an alien religion from Spain. It was intended also to make sure that the political fruits of the final victory would go to Castile. Only after this internal objective was in sight was the final assault on Granada ordered.

After the fall of the last Moorish kingdom, Castile turned to the task of unification under Castilian sovereignty. The Castilian monarchs set about to stamp out of Spanish life all the divisive elements and to encourage all its unifying elements. Despite some diversions, the Castilians have continued to pursue this policy into the twentieth century. Castile is still the foremost unifying force at work in Spain. The work of Castile required, and still requires, the support of the Spanish people. The early Castilian monarchs expected that support to be provided out of the established social structure they inherited from the Romans and Visigoths. This was a status society, in which each class and each individual in it was expected to do his part obediently. At the top of the feudal hierarchy was the king. But even under this traditional arrangement, which was supposed to produce unquestioning manpower for whatever enterprise was in the mind of the ruler, the nature of the Spaniard prevented full compliance. The individual, the community, even the Castilian nobility itself presented the ruler with one rebellion, insurrection and refusal after another. Only a high degree of religious dedication finally provided the motivated military force required for defeat of the Saracen enemy. This zeal carried the cross and the banner beyond Granada to the new world. It would be unrealistic to suppose

that prestige and loot played no part in the conquest of Moorish and overseas territory, but these enterprises made up a splendid unified national effort which required unusual self-sacrifice.

The requirements of the old stratified status society no longer provide a sufficient motive for service to the state, even in states made up of people more obedient and cooperative than the Spanish. There is a material motive behind most modern organization and action, since the rewards of modern society appear largely in the form of increased living standards and personal opportunities. The Spanish response can be based no longer on the requirements of the crown or the nobility, even in the important work of unifying the nation.

Castile's labor to bring forth a modern nation-state must be carried into a new political field in which the motives and responses of people are no longer those of medieval times. Ferdinand and Isabela expected the traditional services due them from the classes of society that owed them allegiance. It has been seen how difficult even that was to get. But a modern ruler of Spain will require the consent of the people. Between the fifteenth century and today there has intervened a social, political, technical and industrial revolution that has rendered the status society obsolete in the western world and has brought it into question even among some of the people of Spain.

As in the case of the other alien ideas that have reached the peninsula in the course of the centuries, the Spanish will in time digest the notion of a contract society in which the individual is a free agent. And, having digested it, they will adopt some variation of it that suits their temperament and their needs. Political life everywhere has quickened with the advent of mass means of communication and persuasion, and Spain is technically able to use these means on a national scale. Newspapers of wide circulation, radio, television and motion pictures have made instantaneous a process that was slow when accomplished by word of mouth, by education, political organization or books. By modern communications and by means of the airplane, Spain is beginning to overcome the re-

gional and community resistance to change. Some parts of Spain, however, are still largely inaccessible, even by radio.

But even after the means of communication have been fully developed and put at the disposal of the nation, the consent of the Spaniard will be difficult to win. It will be difficult to persuade the Catalan that he should consider himself a Spaniard first and foremost. His resistance will be based on traditional dissent bred in his bones. The regional point of view remains strong among most Spaniards despite the forces working for nationality.

REGIONALISM

The regional loyalties of the varied people of the peninsula work against central government. These regional loyalties are strongest in the north, precisely in that part of Spain that contains those resources most vital to the nation. Perhaps Spain could do without Andalusia, Estremadura and Murcia. But without the Basques, the Catalans and the Galicians, it would revert to something like North African life. Regionalism is strongest in the north because the northern kingdoms were equals and contemporaries of Castile while their character was forming. The northern Spaniard, whose ancestors were subjects of the King of Galicia or the Count of Barcelona, is quite clear in his mind about his relationship to the people of Castile. It is not a subservient relationship. Even when in the Middle Ages these kingdoms were brought under the authority of Castile by dynastic marriage, international politics or force, their citizens continued locally in their independent ways. Although Aragón entered into a partnership with Castile in the union of the two crowns under Ferdinand and Isabela, no Aragonese considers that he has lost his identity.

The Portuguese resisted incorporation into the Spanish state for centuries, and they got out of it as soon as possible. Since 1640, they have been entirely independent of the Castilian crown. The relation of Castile to the rest of Christian Spain in the north was that of chief of an association of feudally united kingdoms. The individual

units in this association had already developed their own personalities, and in some cases their distinct legal processes, their language and their social mores. These they generally retained. The assumption of primacy by Castile was a process quite different from the fusion of the Saxon and Angle kingdoms of England, and it produced a state quite different from the English monarchy. The topography of Spain was more hostile, allowing quite distinct peoples to grow up only a few miles apart, and to grow farther away from each other as they receded from a common ancestry. Whereas those elements which the English kingdoms held in common were reinforced in time by easy overland communication and cultural intercourse, the common elements among the Spanish kingdoms such as the Latin language disappeared in time. Also, the location of Spain within easy sea access of the varied and rich cultures of the different Mediterranean peoples brought it a much greater variety than came to Britain from northern Europe.

The relation between Castile and the southern Spaniards has been quite different, since it derived from conquest, and consequently the regional problem of Spain diminishes in the south. The solid incorporation of the Andalusians and Murcians into the advancing Spanish state was relatively easy. Their territories were wasted and finally won in war. Their surviving Moorish populations became a subject people. The victorious Castilian knights, allotted land, became the local gentry. The northern lords and peasants, resettled in the territories abandoned in the mass evacuations of the Moors, felt no special allegiance to their new region, but remembered the kingdoms in the north from which they came. The Christians who were found on the soil had been Moorish subjects for centuries, and they were used to changes of command. As a result of all these factors, southern resistance to Castilian authority does not take the stubborn separatist form that it takes in the north. In the south it takes the form of universal social protest, mostly against landlordism, backwardness and poverty. This is the form it would have taken against the emirs.

INDIVIDUALITY

But the regional resistance to the unification of Spain is superficial compared to the deeper resistance of the individual Spaniard to authority of any kind.

The Spaniard is as distinctly an individual product of his geography and history as he is a Catalan product or an Andalusian product. His experience on that violent and rugged land has developed in him an extreme form of individualism. Salvador de Madariaga is one of a succession of Spanish historians who go so far as to suggest that anarchy is the natural state of the Spanish mind. He adds to that definition a number of other qualities that are common enough among Spaniards to be considered characteristic. These include pride, stoicism, austerity, extremism and stubbornness. This is not a set of characteristics likely to assist in the unification and organization of a nation. Nor is it conducive to the modern democratic forms of government which require wide voluntary cooperation. It is difficult to imagine a crowd of Spaniards forming a queue to wait for a bus, as in London. This is not to say that Spaniards are incapable of such common effort as was required in the reconquest, in the exploration of the new world and in the construction and management of the great Roman and Moorish engineering projects, but it does suggest that the national inclination normally runs the other way. In times of high enterprise, Spaniards act in concert. At those times they can be selfless and heroic. Small enterprises do not move them.

In spite of his regionalism and his individualism, every Spaniard knows himself to be Spanish. When his nation is threatened, as in the time of Napoleon, he becomes a patriot. When foreigners interfere in the affairs of his country, as in the case of the international brigade and the Italian and German units brought into the civil war, his reaction is nationalistic in character.

The sense of Spanish nationality, which makes it possible for the nation to act as one under some circumstances, has not yet progressed to the point of full interregional and inter-personal associa-

tion. The strongest expression of the spirit of cooperation in Spain is in the life of the family. As is true of so many social characteristics in modern Spain, this seems to be derived from the Near East and brought by the Moors. The strongest family ties are among nomadic peoples, and these ties persist long after the group ceases to follow a nomadic life. The modern citizen of Bagdad, perhaps following a profession for which he has prepared by university study in some remote western nation, usually feels as close to the archaic family-tribal stream as if he still moved with its camel herds. The modern Spaniard has resisted the current ideological and social influences that seek to persuade him away from the basic family unit. No sacrifice is too great for him to make and no labor is too demanding if preservation of the family is the object, or even the alleviation of the suffering of some distant cousin. But it is difficult for him to understand the more impersonal mass social demands of civic organization and joint economic enterprise.

RELIGION

The primary unifying force in Spain has been the Christian religion. This too has developed its unique Spanish form. Christianity is generally supposed to have been brought into Spain by St. Paul. It must therefore have been brought to the Iberian Peninsula at about the same time it was established in Rome. Communications in Roman Spain had been sufficiently developed by that time so that the Christian preachers could reach the principal communities. The new religion took a remarkably strong hold, probably filling a spiritual vacuum here as elsewhere in the western part of the empire. When the pagan peoples, learning of the fatal weakness of Rome, appeared in the peninsula, the Christian religion was in serious danger of disappearing along with Roman administration. Its effective champion and preserver was the wandering Visigothic nation that had already been converted to Aryan Christianity before it arrived in Spain. By the sixth century the Visigothic rulers had acquired Roman Catholicism; they made its promulgation a matter of state policy. Church and state became identical in Visigothic

Spain. Civil law and canon law were intertwined, as were civic and church administration. Piety, learning, law and social organization were advanced together. An intellectual impetus developed that brought Spain a new scholastic era. Education came into the hands of churchmen. St. Isidore of Seville is perhaps the best known of these.

The Moors conquered not a people but a Visigothic aristocratic caste. They were in fact invited into Spain by a dissident Visigothic ruling faction. One of their reasons for accepting the invitation was the Visigothic persecution of non-Christian Spaniards. The more civilized among the Moors had already achieved a high degree of religious tolerance that would do them credit in the modern time. Under Moorish rule the Christian population of Spain prospered, as did the Jewish population. The Christians were allowed to elect their own ruler, who was called a count. He answered to the Moorish ruler for the conduct of the Christians. Under delegation of authority to the count, the Christian communities were allowed to govern themselves by the Visigothic canon law. Large Christian communities maintained themselves at Toledo, Córdoba and Seville. The archbishop of Toledo was primate. The prevailing rite of the church, called the *mozarabic* rite, was based on the Christian liturgy established earlier for the Visigothic Christian community of Gaul. It is still used at Toledo and Salamanca. The *mozarabes* spoke Arabic, apparently by preference. At any rate, they were censured by their church fathers for preferring the tales and songs of Islam to Christian discourses. The easy religious tolerance of Moorish Spain made it possible for the Christian communities to survive without serious discomfort except under the Berber fanatics from North Africa. At the same time, the influence of this tolerance spread north into the Christian kingdoms and liberalized their Visigothic bigotry.

While the Christians were reasonably well off in the south under Moorish rule, the monasteries in the north were preserving both learning and religion in the midst of local warfare and anarchy. Many of them became citadels of great strength. Like the manorial

castles of the knightly families, they were provisioned by the labor of the retainers they sheltered. One thousand years later the Spanish missions of California were still baptizing pagans, teaching them to read and write and training them to raise cattle, grapes and wheat, and to make bread and soap and wine. The Spanish monasteries kept in touch with those of France and Italy throughout medieval times. While Navarra, Aragón and Catalonia played individual parts in the politics and the military and naval actions of western Europe and the Mediterranean, they played a common part in the advancement of their religion. Not only were the individual Spanish knights and ships put at the common service in the crusades in the Holy Lands, but the Christian states of Spain received the help of Christians from other parts of western Europe in their wars with the Spanish Moors. The remaining artistic religious relics of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries in northern Spain still constitute one of the greatest cultural treasures of Christendom, although many have been destroyed or disintegrated by the neglect of time.

It was left to Castile to use the Christian religion as a tool in the formation of the Spanish state. Castile was the spiritual and temporal heir of Rome and the kingdom of the Visigoths, combining the cultural breadth and depth of the one with the passion and determination of the other. This passion was matched among the Moors only by the evangelistic Berbers. The first of these to invade Moorish Spain were the Almoravides. These were militant, reformed Muslims who formed a dynastic state in the Sahara, advanced soon to conquer Morocco, and established a powerful North African empire based at Marrakesh. Called by the hard-pressed Moors of Spain to help turn back the Christian reconquest, they entered Andalusia and defeated Alfonso VI of Castile. Tough-living and puritanical, they turned on their hosts and added Muslim Spain to their Moroccan empire. But they lasted less than one hundred years when, themselves having turned soft, they were superseded by an even more fanatical and puritanical sect from the desert—the Almohades. In turn these Berber tribesmen succumbed to the pleasures of Span-

ish life and were themselves destroyed by the more austere Spanish and Portuguese at Navas de Tolosa. A half century later the Almohades lost Morocco to the Merinide rulers. Meantime Córdoba had fallen to the Castilian kings, and the fate of Moorish Spain was sealed.

With the final defeat of Granada in 1492, the Catholic monarchs turned to the task of internal religious unification which they considered essential to the establishment of the nation as one cultural unit. Many of the Muslims in the conquered territories had been converted to Christianity. They were called *mudéjares*; they were considered reliable citizens, and their industry and skill was appreciated by the Spanish kings. With the fall of Granada, many Moors were killed or driven into exile, but those who remained, called *moriscos*, embraced Christianity and joined the *mudéjares* as Spanish subjects. They were allowed to stay in Spain but were closely watched as potential religious backsliders and thus potential enemies of the church-state. The Jews, who had been welcomed in Spain by the Moors, were exiled by the Christians in the wave of religious fanaticism that accompanied conquest. They dispersed to the Netherlands and to the Levant. Philip II persecuted his Moorish subjects, who rebelled. So violent was this rebellion that it was put down only after three years of effort and with the help of Austrian troops. In 1609 the remaining *moriscos* were expelled, leaving Spain socially amputated but entirely Christian for the first time since the year 711.

In the intervening centuries, Spain had become Moorish as well as Roman and Visigothic. The final amalgam was complete, so that after Philip III it was possible to call Spain an ethnic and religious unit. The real influence of the Moors and the Jews was greater than a superficial reading of history would suggest. Although they put their non-European stamp on all of Spain, the Moors contributed heavily to European civilization, particularly in forwarding Greek learning, in advancing science and medicine, art and architecture. They contributed to Spain particularly their racial characteristics, their technical skills, their social patterns and their habits

of mind. Alongside the Moor and the Jew, most Spaniards of earlier origin were rude and simple. These two, though themselves expelled, left a more polished and competent Spaniard. The non-Christians suffered personal loss and hardship in the act of expulsion, but the Spain they left was in many ways their Spain, and it remains so.

LANGUAGE

Another important unifying factor in Spain has been the Castilian language, in recent times used consciously and effectively as a political instrument. The selection of this particular dialect of vulgar Latin, as the Florentine dialect became official Italian and the Mandarin language official Chinese, came about naturally in the course of the political and cultural development of Spain. In later years, Castilian has been imposed on the peoples of the other Spanish regions where other Latin dialects were used. It has been imposed also on the Basques, who are now bilingual. The Castilians have had the advantage of a superior tongue. It has been easy, particularly in the literary field, to establish the primacy of a language of the clarity, beauty and flexibility of modern Spanish. Its development has been so rapid since the fifteenth century that research scholars seeking its early forms apply to the Sephardic Jewish communities of the Levant and North Africa to find them.

The Castilian language was evolving from the Visigothic and Latin mixture in the northern areas at the high tide of Moorish conquest. It changed to accommodate the softer Arabic sounds and expressions as the reconquest moved south. Somewhere in this process the final form of the language emerged in these areas under the control of Castile and Aragón. In this process also the "th" sound of "c" and "z" appeared. This lisp probably did not creep into the language as a speech difficulty of one of the kings, as popularly believed; it seems to have emerged in the adaption of Arabic to the changing Latin dialect in northern Spain. This speech peculiarity is the hallmark of the true Castilian, setting him apart from other Spanish speakers around the world and in some other regions of Spain.

LAW

Still another unifying element in the development of Spain has been the law.

Roman law had been firmly established in Spain by the first century of our era, only the unconquered Basques remaining outside it. Hand in hand with law arrived political unity and stability, economic prosperity, the Christian religion and the Latin language. The law by which he lived was considered to be a personal attribute to the Roman citizen; he could not be deprived of it because of a change in his status or for any other reason. While the Visigoths governed their own people by their Germanic law, they were sufficiently awed by Roman civilization to respect the rights of the Roman citizens of Spain. The curious thing is that the Visigoths, out of a sense of responsibility toward their Spanish subjects, codified the Roman law for them and governed them by it. When they felt the time had come to put their own developing Germanic law into writing, they wrote the Germanic codes in Latin also. By this time the Germanic element was seriously eroding under the pressure of contact with the stronger Roman culture. In the seventh century both Germanic and Latin codes of law were superseded by a law that would henceforth be common to all the Iberian peoples. This new code, called the *Lex Visigothorum*, was the first "Spanish" law. But it did not appear in the Spanish language until six hundred years later, after the emergence of the Castilians as successors of the Visigoths. As the *fuero juzgo*, the Spanish law then joined the Spanish language and religion as part of the final national edifice. This law is similar to the statute law of other continental European nations that derive their culture and social structure from Rome. But, as in other social and cultural forms of Spain, it is distinctly Spanish in its final form. The political success of the Castilian kings was the paramount factor in the imposition of the Visigothic-Roman law on all of Spain, as it was in the imposition of language and religion.

During the Moorish occupation, the subject Christians were gov-

erned by the Roman canon law preserved for them by the Visigoths. Both Visigoths and Moors recognized a need for Roman law in the government of Spain, and were responsible for its preservation. It is likely that both Visigoths and Moors recognized also that the highly elaborate Roman system of jurisprudence was more advanced than the common law of the German tribes and the pronouncements of the Koran which constituted Muslim law.

THE CAPITAL

A common religion, language and law made it possible for the Castilians to organize the peoples of Spain into national form in spite of the opposition of the two divisive forces: regionalism and individualism. The Castilians established a central national capital on the plains of New Castile, the capstone of their policy of unification. They selected the site of a Moorish fortress on the Manzanares River, at almost the exact geographical center of Spain. When Charles I, the first Hapsburg, succeeded Ferdinand V, Spain was still divided into separate kingdoms and principalities, only loosely united under the Castilian crown. Each had its own assembly or *cortes* and its own local ordinances. The cities, independent since Roman times, had their own rights and privileges. Charles had to be accepted by each individual *cortes*. He had no national rights of his own. Only in Castile had the powers of the local communities been seriously curtailed and the powers of the crown made universal. When Charles attempted to extend his authority to the other kingdoms, the cities erupted into civil war and forced his abdication. Philip II, his son, was Spain's first absolute monarch. When he had put all the regions but Catalonia and the Basque provinces under his complete control, he established his seat of power in Madrid. The disassociation of the newly created capital from the old regional jealousies of the combined realm was a master stroke. From it, the Spanish kings were able to rule farther into modern times than most European monarchs.

The Visigoths had been the first to govern Spain from a national capital. Of all the foreign peoples who tried to seize Iberia during

the period of disintegration of the Roman power, only the Visigoths had a national mission. They beat off the Suevi, the Alani, the Vandals, the Franks and the Byzantines and spread a kind of occupation and protectorate over most of the peninsula. In spite of their long contact with Rome, they were politically primitive. Their kings were at the mercy of the nobles and clergy who sustained them in power. The territory they aspired to control was too big for them. Galicia, the Basque provinces and some other regions remained outside their jurisdiction.

The Moors had likewise found it impossible to encompass the entire peninsula from a central point. The Caliphate of Córdoba came closest to being national in scope. But there was no rising power in the Muslim south to match the purposeful growth of Castile. The Moorish kingdoms were as divided among themselves as the Christian kingdoms in the north before the drive of Castile began in earnest.

THE CIVIL WAR

Since the attainment of Spanish nationhood in 1492, the unifying and divisive factors have contended for the life of the state. Economic organization has been retarded pending a final outcome of this political struggle. Spain has not enjoyed the slow, unconscious development by evolutionary process that has welded other western European nations. The work of Castile in overcoming the divisive forces in the nation has been interrupted over and over again by civil conflict.

The culmination of the regional and individual resistance to national organization in our time was the outbreak of the Spanish civil war in 1936. The immediate cause was the inability of radical and conservative forces to settle the issue of parliamentary control by political means. The real contest was between the idea of central control by the Castilian royal family, a strong church and a national army, and the idea of a loose federation of autonomous regions without an official national religion and without traditional social relationships. This federation had been set up in 1931 in the form of a

republic. Between 1931 and 1936 conservatives and radicals contended for the republic. In the absence of a spirit of compromise, political chaos became physical violence, and the army revolted on July 17, 1936.

THE EARLY FEUDAL SYSTEM

The question that should interest students of the Spanish state is why the parliamentary processes, which have become normal to other western European countries, seem beyond the reach of Spaniards. A part of the answer lies in the fact of Spain's location which enabled it to draw its ethnic and cultural substance from the Middle East and Africa as well as from Rome and northern Europe. A part lies in the characteristics of the Iberian Peninsula which encouraged the development and perpetuation of separate regions. But perhaps the most important element in the answer lies in the social development of the Spanish people which is unlike the social development of other western European countries. Of course this development in turn has been influenced by the location of Spain and its marked regional characteristics.

The backbone of Spanish life is a tough yeomanry of mixed race attached to the stubborn soil. The development of that yeomanry began under Rome. As the Roman empire spread, the soil of the Mediterranean world was exploited to assure prosperity and growth. The soil was the only stable, rich resource the Romans had at their command. As Rome continued to grow in size and luxury, it needed to be supported from the harvests of new areas brought under its control. In addition, the administration of these areas required efficient agricultural production to sustain the growing Roman army and bureaucracy along with the local population. Under the spur of this double requirement, Roman and colonial economists and politicians devised an agricultural production system based on maximum use of land and human resources. At this point Spain was no different from Italy and most of the other colonial areas of the empire except insofar as its people and soil had different characteristics. The method of exploitation was generally the same.

Roman administrators allotted large tracts of land to favored owners. The owners organized a peasant labor force, mostly slaves; once this system became effective, they usually left the estate and took up residence in the city. Absentee ownership thus began under Roman practice. Professional overseers took the place of the owners as masters of the estate. Augustus became fearful of the consequences of this development and he tried to return the use of the land to the small peasant owner, but such a move was by that time impossible. Slaves became scarce, and the method was shifted to share cropping. The large estates were broken into small plots and each allotted to a *colonus*, who served as tenant to the large owner. In time the tenant became a serf.

In the later days of empire, as the Roman bureaucracy broke down, the owner himself was required to assume full responsibility for his tenant serfs. He was by this time a feudal lord, and by this time Spain was Visigothic.

The Roman town declined with the decline of Roman agriculture, for changing methods failed to keep pace with the growth of requirements. The people of the Roman town had been small land-owners. The rise of serfdom doomed the small towns, while the estate of the landed magnate prospered and grew. The villa around the castle became the center of life in late Roman and Visigothic Spain. The man who worked the land, once free, was now a serf and the man who repaired the tools and worked in metal, cloth and leather for local consumption, once an artisan, was attached to the lord's villa as a skilled laborer.

THE RISE OF A TECHNICAL SOCIETY

This feudal relationship between the aristocracy, the artisan class and the peasantry is basic in the Spanish social structure. But two entirely different developments confused what would otherwise be a simple feudal system. One was the arrival of the Moors and the other was the rise of industrial cities. The social structure of the Roman colonies was arrived at for practical, not moral, reasons. Likewise, the alterations of the Moors were made for practical reasons.

The feudal system was altered or broken because it was no longer efficient. Introduction of extensive olive and grape culture required a different agricultural technique. Hundreds of thousands of Moorish technicians, far more advanced than the Roman farmers, swarmed onto the peninsula. They were quick, active, intelligent and highly skilled. Also, they were independent and individualistic, as suits desert men. They knew the best of the Greek and Persian civilizations, and they had made some advances of their own. In the Moorish occupation, the character of the Spanish peasantry was formed in its present mould. It differs from the Roman peasantry in point of view and in skill. The Moors were more industrious than the Roman peasants, and much more independent and self-reliant. They brooked no nonsense about inferiority and superiority, although they recognized differences in social status based on differences of rank and wealth.

The Moors also revived the towns and founded new ones, giving Spain its present wealth of communities. The town was necessary in the Moorish scheme of agriculture and manufacture. Fine workmen came into Spain with the Moors and soon made Spanish manufactured goods equal to those of Damascus. Here the Moors had the advantage of access to the techniques of the Middle East, as they did in agriculture.

After the defeat of the Moorish kings, Castile had the means by which to continue to advance the social and economic possibilities of Spain, but did not do so. It re-established in the south the Visigothic manorial system, a retrogressive action of significance for the future of Spain and the Spanish American world. The persistence of this system into modern times has held back Spanish agricultural development, contributed to the grinding poverty of the people and left the nation vulnerable to the shock of sudden dislocations in its social evolutionary process. One of these dislocations was the civil war of 1936-39.

But Castilian policy could not alter the character of the Spanish peasant; here the Moorish work was permanent. Nor could it prevent modern industrial development and the change in social out-

look inevitably accompanying it. The modern industrial city, of which there are a few already in Spain, brings new requirements for social organization. It also breeds a new kind of man, the free industrial workman, with his own social, political and fraternal dynamics that do not fit into the medieval pattern. These industrial cities were the backbone of the short-lived Spanish republic and the last to be reduced by the nationalist armies.

The nineteenth century brought the industrial revolution to Spain, brought the French revolution to Spain and formed in Spain the political forces that have arisen everywhere in their wake. As usual, these political forces developed slowly and took on a uniquely Spanish character as they did so. They developed, however, along traditional socialist and anarcho-syndicalist lines. While they professed the standard objectives of social revolution, such as modernization, a greater share of the product for the worker, the elimination of social classes and the political triumph of the proletariat, their human material was Spanish and therefore unable to identify immediate common political goals and unable to act together with common purpose. Further, Spanish regionalism tended to reduce national political movements to ineffectiveness. In other words, the same problems of unification and organization faced by Castile in organizing the state were faced by the politically liberal and radical parties in organizing it. They had even less success than the Spanish crown in overcoming them.

TRIAL BY CONFLICT

The specific ills to which radical political solutions were to be applied were the poverty and lack of hope of the Spanish agricultural laborer and of the Spanish industrial laborer. Neither group saw a future under the rule of the king, the aristocracy, the army and the church. The position of these privileged classes (the church here is classified as a property owner, particularly a landowner), was considered a barrier to an adequate living standard for the other classes and a barrier to all kinds of progress. The widening gap between these social classes, the privileged and the underprivileged, had

reached serious proportions by the end of the nineteenth century. Early in the new century there were tests of strength between the traditional forces and the newly emerging forces. There were serious strikes and civic uprisings in Asturias and Catalonia. The dictatorship of de Rivera was imposed to restore order. In the resulting confusion and hardening of differences, the regionalists began to pull away from the central government and there was a rising clamor for autonomy. Catalan anarchists and socialists forgot they were Spanish anarchists and socialists. De Rivera was forced to resign, Alfonso XIII was deposed and the republicans carried first the municipal elections and then the national elections. But the republican government was not able to discipline itself. Its first president resigned in protest to its excesses. When the government, in reaction, shifted to the right, the Catalans and Asturians rose again and were violently suppressed. Passions had now been aroused sufficiently on both sides to assure a national tragedy. When the next elections were won by a popular front of socialists, syndicalists and communists, the civil war erupted.

The army in the field was soon under the leadership of General Francisco Franco, known best as a commander in Morocco. The first political move he made betrayed the essential Castilian purpose of his regime: unification. He dissolved all political parties but one and made its objectives the objectives of the rebellion. He brought all regions back into Spain by force, ending the dream of autonomy in Galicia, the Basque provinces and Catalonia. After his military victory, Franco continued the process of unification by enforced decree. At the end of the war in 1939 he enlarged his dictatorial powers and made himself premier. Since that time he has manipulated the various conservative forces who joined him in the rebellion—monarchist, Carlist, clericalist, military, industrialist, landowner and falangist—to keep them in line and in balance. The parliament was re-established, but along lines suitable to a dictatorship. The legitimacy of the royal family's claim to the throne was reasserted, but Franco remained as regent.

It is too soon fully to assess the effects of the dictatorship on the

development of the Spanish nation. It was imposed in traditional Spanish fashion with the maximum of violence and the minimum of moderation. It has been carried out in absolute form with internal stability as its immediate achievement, and the continuation of a unified Spanish state on traditional lines as its ultimate objective. Many believe it to have been inevitable in the circumstances of popular Spanish political incapacity that gave it birth.

The civil war interrupted a maturing process in Spain which must be resumed again, although most Spaniards hope that this can be carried forward with more sophistication and forbearance than before. That process was aimed at modernizing and developing the state and providing for greater participation by the people in national affairs. Since the outside influences pushing Spain in this direction were mostly European and specifically French, this development had been sought before the civil war through traditional European political organizations that appealed to class consciousness. These influences were strongest in the north, where contact with the rest of Europe was closest, and particularly in Catalonia which, unlike the rest of Spain, has always sensitively reflected French political thinking.

The participation of the Basques on the side of the republic, in spite of the traditionally conservative nature of the Basque people, may be attributed to the industrial labor force of the Bilbao area and the always tolerant attitude of Spanish republican political elements to the regional splintering of the state.

The organized industrial unions were the core of resistance to the nationalist revolt, and the industrialized areas such as Madrid and Valencia held out longest with Catalonia. While the agricultural workers of Andalusia and Estremadura had an equal stake in the redistribution of land and the wealth it produced and were favored by the republican regime against which the revolt was directed, they lacked the organizational skill and the means to help defend it. Further, General Franco attacked by the traditional route of the Moors, which brought the south quickly under his military control.

AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

Since Spain became a unified nation it has not had a tranquil century or even a generation in which to knit itself together. The conquest of overseas territory was followed by the dynastic wars within the peninsula. These were interrupted by the French invasion and the long war of resistance. The Spanish American empire broke up in the political confusion of the Napoleonic wars. The republicans, moderates and Carlists continued the civil conflict in Spain, and the Basque and Catalan separatists sided with almost everyone against the central government in power. In the midst of this conflict, the Caribbean and Philippine possessions were lost. Spain, reduced to a third rate power, entered the twentieth century with little hope.

Not much has happened in this century to revive the nation or to give its people a sense of promise. Its first timid attempt to build a modern political and economic structure led to national disaster. But Spain has never done things the easy way. Still far from united, pressed by social and economic difficulties that cry for adjustment, the Spanish people nevertheless have now lived for nearly a generation in peace. They have the capacity to improve their condition, and their history indicates that they will find a way to do so.

EASY living is almost unknown in continental Spain. Except in a few favored places, the land and the climate conspire against adequate harvests. Except in the Basque and Catalan communities, industries are difficult to organize and finished goods difficult to distribute. There are few natural industrial complexes as in the north central part of the United States where resources, transportation, skilled labor, capital and freedom from political restrictions combine to permit the development of a high standard of production and consumption.

Gibbon, in his history of the Roman empire, remarks that while Spain flourished as a province of Rome it declined as an independent state. It can also be said that Spain again flourished under Muslim rule and declined again as an independent Christian kingdom. This is an oversimplification of history, but it is true that the Spaniard has not prospered in the material sense since the one golden century that followed the reconquest of his territory from the Moors. And even that century is often accounted for by the residue of Moorish resources and know-how left from the long occupation.

Yet in every other way but in the material sense, Spain did flourish in its independent condition, and it still flourishes. This concept leads to the impression that the national government has been less interested in the basic economic well-being of the nation and the material living standards of the Spanish people than in other things. It is safe to say that if the same genius that carried Spain to political leadership in Europe and to world empire had been directed toward organizing the nation to feed, clothe and equip itself ade-

quately, Spain would not now be one of the impoverished nations of the world.

The irony of this situation lies in the preoccupation of the individual Spaniard with his personal struggle for existence on his unfriendly land. The individual, his family, the community and the entire district have been thus engaged except when actually defending the soil. But the struggle for existence has not been of primary interest to the whole nation. As a consequence, while people have managed to survive, they have not fared so well as they might even in view of the natural handicaps of their environment. Most of the benefits leading to improvement of life in Spain have been foreign. In general, these have been Roman and Moorish public works, and European, mostly French, organization and manufacturing methods in the areas next to the French border.

Hard-pressed Rome used Spain as a granary in its scheme for provisioning the city and the empire. After the Romans overcame resistance and established their system of exploitation, the Spaniards settled down to thrive under it. They worked hard and enjoyed its material benefits. Their prosperity was a part of the Roman policy for Spain. The Romans derived from it an adequate return. So did the Spaniards. They faced many difficulties, of which transportation was one of the foremost. Although the soil was still vigorous and there were still woodlands, agriculture required better organization for adequate yields. Roman system taught the Spaniards a great deal about the possibilities of organized effort. Agricultural methods, new livestock breeds and plant varieties brought by the Roman administrators have been of great value to Spain.

But the ability of the Spaniard to survive and increase on the basis of his own natural resources was developed to its highest degree by the Moors. While the Moors were under no compulsion to support a distant political machinery and a distant metropolitan city, they were interested in developing their own position within Spain. It was their policy to create a condition of economic prosperity. They restored Spain, declining badly under the inept Visigoths, to high production. The caliphs and emirs had foreign re-

sources to call upon. They were in contact through the Muslim empire with the most advanced techniques of their time and with sources of highly skilled manpower. They brought these into Spain. With them they introduced modern specialty farming on a mass scale with high returns. They developed advanced manufacturing methods and trading systems. They used their social and political skills to develop and encourage a trained and contented peasantry and an artisan class able to compete with any in the world in excellence of product.

After the Moors were gone, the mind of Christian government reverted to more exalted things, leaving the little man again to face his barren soil with his bare hands. Propagation of the faith was uppermost in the minds of the Castilians. This is understandable, since the reconquest had been a religious crusade of intense fervor. The goods and the techniques left by the departed Moors were swept up to add to Castilian power, which was spent in a great burst of exploration, conquest, colonization and administration overseas. That this enterprise was the most spectacular and successful in history satisfied the Castilian sense of destiny. No statistical tables showing an advance in production and consumption at home could have substituted for this triumph. The Castilian is not a bookkeeper.

But the greater the success of the adventure into empire, the more certain the economic decline at home. Even the wealth that poured into Spain from the Americas was a national disaster. At the moment when recovery was still possible, it distracted national attention from the economic realities of life. It blinded the most able Spaniards from the fact that they lived upon a bleak and uncompromising peninsula whose efficient cultivation was a requirement for survival.

Now that the banners have come down from the outposts of Spanish empire, the peninsula and the people remain. Modern Spain is still a forbidding rocky plateau on which individual people must work desperately from sun to sun against extinction. They are little better organized to work together today than they were under the Romans. Their few tentative efforts at economic coopera-

tion over the past century have come to nothing or have shrunk to a few regional enterprises where conditions are largely non-Spanish.

As a consequence, Spanish production is still marginal. The average annual income is probably less than \$350. This is not half the average annual income of the French workman. It is pitifully low in the light of modern living standards and considering the commanding Spanish position in the world only a short time ago. While the natural handicaps to Spanish production are greater than most European countries and resemble those of North Africa, Spain has access to European techniques. In fact it was at one time the prime supplier of techniques to Europe. The handicaps faced by modern Spain are no greater than those faced for the Spaniards by the Romans and the Moors, except, perhaps, for soil exhaustion. It must be assumed that part of the present Spanish predicament must be laid to the economic ineptitude of national leadership since Spain emerged as an independent state.

The same factors that work against political unity work against economic organization in Spain. The unwillingness of social classes to cooperate, essentially a political failure, has been fatal to economic health.

The present regime of Spain has set about to achieve a measure of economic organization by strong central control. Labor, finance, agricultural and industrial enterprises are regulated by government ministries and government controlled institutions. This is the method of the corporate state. The National Institute of Industry promotes and finances industrial enterprises; it is a creature of the government. The Ministry of Finance controls and regulates the banking system. Twenty-two national syndicates control both industry and labor in the entire range of agriculture and industry. These public corporations are supported by contributions required to be paid by both employers and employees. But these syndicates simply administer the regulations laid down by the Ministry of Labor. Collective bargaining is under state supervision. Strikes, slowdowns and lockouts are illegal. Employers cannot dismiss workmen without

permission of the local authorities. This is the Castilian sense of central direction and control carried into the economic life of the nation.

AGRICULTURE

The foundation of the national economy is agriculture, as it has been throughout history. Half of Spain's labor is expended in farming, forestry and fishing, most of it on a local scale and most of it directly connected with the daily struggle for existence. It is interesting to note that less than 10 percent of the labor force in the United States is engaged in agriculture and related work, and this diminishing percentage produces crop surpluses.

Only about 40 percent of Spain's land can be farmed, and a great deal of this land would not be considered suitable for farming in more favored countries. So close to starvation is the population of Spain that marginal land cannot safely be retired from cultivation, although its continued use is uneconomic and wasteful of human resources. Nor are farmers in a position to save or to otherwise acquire the capital they need to buy implements and to improve methods. Only the state has the capital to develop and extend irrigation projects, reforest denuded areas, train farm technicians, extend credit and provide equipment. Many large landholders are engaged in marginal production on land too poor to sustain small holders from year to year through unfavorable seasons; so that even the enforced redistribution of land does not offer ready solutions to the production problem. Most absentee landlords lack the interest to modernize and improve lands and method.

The belated emergence of Spain from medieval conditions left a great deal of land in the hands of noble families and the church. This situation was particularly true in central and southern Spain. The small freeholder has been able to keep his own acreage in the north and along the seacoast where ownership has been continuous for centuries and where family cultivation is intense. The comparatively recent rise of a Spanish middle class has led to some increase in small ownership, but the sacrifice of farmland to sheep

grazing had already ruined large agricultural areas beyond the point of easy restoration. Only 30 percent of Spain's farmers own their land. Another 15 percent are tenant farmers. The rest are farm labor. There are still many great landed proprietors in Estremadura, La Mancha and Andalusia. The republican government had little success in land reform, although it made a political issue of the requirement. The present government has made efforts to break up large and unproductive estates, but the pattern of absentee ownership and hired cultivation is still an obstacle to adequate production.

Agricultural techniques are out of date. Mechanization has only started. Spain, nearly self-sufficient in food in 1935, now must import to live. Crop yields are often no better and are sometimes lower than they were one thousand years ago. The present government is making an effort to increase technical training facilities, strengthen agricultural organizations, loan money and carry out irrigation projects, but the job is immense.

The extension of irrigated lands is under the joint direction of the National Colonization Institute and the Directorate of Hydraulic Works. Some of the canals destined to fit into the network have been under construction since 1920, but many are new. The most extensive and promising of these enterprises will bring the waters of the Gallego, Aragón and Cinca Rivers, which rise in the high Pyrenees, onto the upper plains of Aragón, Huesca and Navarra and put tens of thousands of arid acres under cultivation. The newly irrigated lands in this project will lie just north of and above the old Ebro valley system which was itself a great engineering achievement of the Moors.

Cereals form the basis of Spanish agriculture, as they have since earliest times. The basis of the Spanish diet is wheat bread. This staple crop, together with the milling and baking industry, is almost everywhere in Spain. The fields, often separated by stone fences, the outdoor threshing floor, the mill by the watercourse, the donkeys and ox carts laden with grain and flour moving from field to mill to village, changing with the seasons but always in the same age-

old form and pattern, provide the pastoral panorama of arid Spain. By this process five million metric tons of wheat are grown each year, milled and baked. If one removed all the rest of the Spanish economy, this process would continue. It is the process of survival.

Wheat is the principal crop of the *meseta*. It is the only staple crop that will grow on the high, cold, dry steppes; although it yields in abundance only in good years. Because there is no inland water transportation, because the roads are poor, and because access to railroads is limited, almost every region of Spain must produce its own wheat. Rice is the second cereal crop. Its center of cultivation is Valencia where it is made into the regional dish, *paella*, known around the world in restaurants where Spanish is spoken. Rice serves the Moorish eastern coast of Spain as wheat serves the Castilians, and the two grains can be said to be symbolic of the two cultures.

Wines and oils are also major products of the Spanish soil and a primary requirement of life for the people who live upon it. Spain is the greatest olive growing country in the world. The center of olive production is Andalusia which shares with Greece and southern Italy ideal conditions for its cultivation. Gray-green groves spread across the red southern hills, timeless and symbolic in the Spanish mind. While most of the Spanish oil is consumed in Spain, about 50,000 tons a year are exported. Some is processed in other countries and re-exported. The olive tree, like wheat, grows almost everywhere in Spain, even in sheltered upland gorges. In the winter of 1955-56 some of these trees that had survived for ten centuries were killed by cold.

Wine grapes, too, have been grown almost everywhere on the peninsula since the extensive Moorish plantings. They are at perfection of quality and height of yield in a few fortunate districts which, while usually not so famous as the French and Rhenish vineyards, have their following among Spaniards and a few international fanciers. These are the Jerez (sherry, in English), the Logroño and the Málaga districts. There is a general market in Spain for other good wines, such as those of La Mancha, but generally the

Spaniard drinks the ordinary wine of his region which is usually both cheap and good. The wines of the north are more delicate and those of the south sweeter and heavier. Grapes and other grape products such as raisins and brandy are extensively grown, manufactured and shipped, and most are of high quality.

Olive and grape products, citrus fruits and almonds usually account for about half of Spain's exports and make it possible for Spain to keep a narrowly favorable margin in international trade. This margin has been so precarious that failure of the citrus crop, due to excessive cold, recently produced a balance-of-trade crisis.

The east coast produces the greatest agricultural surplus for export. In addition to subtropical staples, it carries on a trade in such exotic products as filberts and saffron.

Spain raises cotton, tobacco, potatoes, wicker, esparto grass, hemp, beans, sugar beets and tomatoes in quantity. Its tropical possessions also produce coffee and bananas, but they do not compete in world markets with these.

Once a great wool exporter, Spain is still able to produce enough wool to meet its own needs and to keep the Catalan mills supplied. The merino sheep, now a standard high quality breed throughout the world, was developed in Spain. It is prized for the fineness of its wool. With its highly specialized varieties, such as the rambouillet, it has stocked most of the best sheep ranges of the Americas and Australia. There are more than 16 million sheep in Spain; they thrive in almost every part of the peninsula. Their care and breeding were particular Moorish skills; flocks are seen everywhere in the Andalusian hills and mountains. Yet the Basques are counted among the best sheepmen of Spain and are employed in large numbers on the ranges of the United States.

The quality of specialized Spanish livestock is very high. Hogs, goats, cattle, donkeys, horses and mules are important to the Spanish economy and some are in export demand. The livestock industries of North and South America are mostly based on Spanish imports, although British beef cattle have generally replaced the original Spanish strains in Texas and Argentina. In livestock, as in the

ethnic strains of the Spanish people, the location of the Iberian Peninsula coupled with its isolation by natural barriers on all sides has resulted in the evolution of native breeds side by side with those which were imported. The strain of fighting bulls is Iberian, while the riding horses of Andalusia are Arab.

The island character of Spain has developed a fishing industry of economic importance. Spanish cod fishers range to the Newfoundland banks, but most catches are in nearby waters. This is a 700,000 ton business, about one-sixth being exported. Perishable fish are sped to the Madrid market overnight by trucks. Despite the arid nature of the country, fresh fish is a delicacy that can be enjoyed daily in any major Spanish city.

Spain and Portugal hold a monopoly of the source of cork. Sixty thousand tons of cork come each year out of Estremadura, Andalusia and the Catalan province of Gerona. Most of it is exported in raw form or as stoppers, but cork manufactured goods are becoming important in trade.

Spain, largely denuded of forest except in the north and in the high mountains, is no longer a great timber producing country and is no longer able to meet its building and industrial requirements. It does have, however, sufficient forests to keep more than one thousand sawmills busy and to provide furniture, boxes and carpentry. Recent development of the timber resources of Spanish Guinea have helped relieve the peninsula's shortages.

As in many countries where the effort to live is difficult, the huntsman is often seen in Spain. Small game is an important rural resource, particularly in the poorest provinces such as Soria. The hunter of the steppes is continuing an Iberian tradition recorded in paintings and drawings on the walls of caves which he passes still in pursuit of the hare or pheasant. Hunting must have been the first occupation of the Spaniard. For a long time it must have been adequate to his needs, for this was once rich game country. It is interesting to speculate how much of the native Iberian character of the Spaniard developed out of his long early experience as a lone upland hunter.

INDUSTRY

Spanish industry suffers from some of the same deficiencies of organization that beset agriculture. In addition, industrial raw materials were poorly placed by nature. The unfriendly profile of the land and the absence of natural transportation routes often isolate mineral deposits. The exceptions are found mostly on the north coast of Spain where industry developed early. Here also are found the Spaniards with middle class ambitions in closest proximity to western Europe, and therefore best able to industrialize along modern lines. One of the results of this coincidence of factors is the development of the Bilbao complex, the most important in Spain, which produces about two million tons of steel and iron, builds ships and heavy machinery and manufactures, reduces and refines a variety of modern industrial products.

Less favored with mineral resources but well situated for hydro-electric power, skilled labor and some materials, the Barcelona area is the primary light manufacturing center. There are more than two thousand textile mills in Catalonia.

Spanish industry is varied and often competent but still insufficient to meet the basic requirements of the nation. Recent statistics seem favorable. Industrial activity rose 110 percent between 1951 and 1958. Exports leaped from \$466 million in 1959 to \$740 million in 1960, this rise largely due to a heavy increase in iron, steel and textiles. As a result, Spain showed a surprising \$400 million surplus in 1960 balance-of-trade payments. But there are some unusual factors involved in these figures, and economic assistance from the United States was considerable during these periods. There are many basic problems of industrial organization, financing, marketing and equipment that must be solved before Spanish industry will be in a position to fulfill national needs and compete with advanced nations.

Spain's oldest industry is mining. Almost all minerals are found on the peninsula. Iron ore is mined in quantity on the north coast and in Andalusia. There is an adequate unmined reserve. Coal is

mined in the north. Here again there are extensive high quality reserve deposits. Lead is mined in Jaén. Potash salts are mined in Catalonia. The richest mercury deposits are at Almadén in Ciudad Real. The Rio Tinto copper mines north of Huelva once dominated the European market, but are not now producing as efficiently as they did. Wolfram is an important strategic mineral in abundance. Other minerals are iron pyrites, lignite, zinc, sulfur, tin, manganese, gold, silver, molybdenum and antimony.

Spain's mineral wealth was its early attraction to Mediterranean peoples, bringing a succession of expeditions and settlements to compete for it. Their techniques remained. Many of the mines opened in earliest historical times are still producing, although since Moorish days methods have fallen behind those of more progressive nations. The state owns the mines and mineral rights and controls mining operations. Spain imports petroleum at high cost and has recently granted exploration rights to several United States companies.

Government and private interests are rapidly expanding hydroelectric power, an essential to industrial growth. Generating capacity grew 125 percent from 1951 to 1958. Due to the aridity of most of the peninsula, Spain has only about half the potential hydroelectric power of France. Some of Spain's first water power developments, as those above Bilbao, are obsolete now and could generate much more electricity with modern dams. Ironically, Basque industry is handicapped by its early start in competition with other European industrial centers, for its old plants and equipment are still in use.

A recently opened government-owned steel plant at Avilés has added 750,000 tons to annual production, brought manufacturing alongside the Asturias ore sources and put the industry in a more advanced position. Iron and steel are now produced at above two million tons. Other heavy industries of importance in Spain are cement and paper manufacture, petroleum refining and shipbuilding. Classified as light industries are textiles, chemicals, dyes and pharmaceuticals. Spain also makes tile, glassware, furniture and leather goods.

Spain has a fine industrial, manufacturing and mercantile tradition and has fallen back comparatively only in recent times. The Muslim industrial and commercial establishment in Spain was in fact ahead of the rest of Europe. It has been mentioned that the Arabic language was a conveyor of the most advanced scientific thought; it was particularly suited for mathematics. By means of Arabic, Spain mastered not only philosophy, but astronomy, calculation, navigation, chemistry, metallurgy and medicine. Spanish mariners learned the use of the astrolabe and were quite familiar with the theory that the world was round. Spaniards were the first Europeans to learn the terminology of mathematics and chemistry, incorporating into their language the Arabic words, *algebra*, *alcohol*, *zero*, *zenith*, *cipher* and *alkali*. They were the first Europeans familiar with sal ammoniac, corrosive sublimate, aniline, silver nitrate and camphor.

After the revival of pure science, applied science followed, and with it the development of modern industrial techniques.

Muslim Spanish commerce and industry prospered. The exchange of manufactured goods within the Islamic world was facilitated by an enlightened common market agreement which abolished tariff barriers. Muslim trade ran freely east to China and south into the heart of Africa. Muslim control of the Mediterranean gave Spain an extensive trading area. After the eleventh century the Muslim world and the Christian world began to trade extensively. Spain's products were sold world wide. The silk, paper and luster pottery of Valencia, the leather goods of Córdoba and the steel products of Toledo reached a competitive position with the products of the other Muslim centers of manufacture. Spanish products were in demand wherever ships, camels, horses and peddlers went.

This tremendous Spanish lead continued into the sixteenth century and made it possible for Spain to outrace all competitors for the newly found world of the Western Hemisphere. Likewise, it afforded the Philippines and Latin America the benefits of advanced culture, which they still enjoy, and the benefits of advanced

industrial and commercial techniques which made it possible for them to establish their present metropolitan centers.

The favored Spanish position in the world of practical affairs was lost in the period of Spain's greatest political and military glory. It has been suggested that the Castilian genius ran to political polity, not to the workaday affairs of man. But disinterest in economic problems does not entirely account for the material decline of Spain. A much more fundamental reason may have been the poverty of intellectual resources following the expulsion of the Moors and the Jews. Great human resources were building up elsewhere in Europe while Spain was occupied with the last stages of the reconquest. The renaissance of learning flooded the western world with new light. Renewed contact with the Greek and Persian worlds through the crusades in the Levant and through other means stimulated a revival of art and learning. The universities of Toledo and Córdoba had facilitated the early awakening of Europe. The northern Christian kingdoms of Spain were closest to these universities, and indeed the Basques and Catalans as well as the Castilians themselves derived some benefit from the dissemination of learning from those centers. But Christian Spain, now interested elsewhere, did not receive its full measure from these currents when they flooded the European world. Had it done so, its golden century might have been followed by new achievements and new European leadership.

THE MODERN ECONOMY

The present economic organization of Spain developed in the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century the war of independence and the loss of the American colonies bankrupted the state, broke the absolute power of the monarchy and worked profound changes in the outlook and the social makeup of the nation. The economy reformed rather slowly after the long and exhausting struggle with Napoleon. The population began to rise, reaching 12 million by 1832. The present large modern cities began to emerge. The middle class began to grow in numbers, and the aristocracy, the

clergy and the bureaucratic class began to decline. Industrial and skilled labor increased. Guilds disappeared, and industry was gradually freed of many restrictive medieval forms. The army was nationalized. But the financial situation of Spain remained critical. Heavy taxes were required; their imposition brought on a popular rebellion. The nation had to wait hopefully for scientific and technical advancement to improve economic conditions in general, and in the long run this hope was justified.

The loss of the American colonies forced Spain, three hundred years late, to turn its attention seriously to the condition of its own agriculture and industry. Once it was apparent that the nation's requirements would have to be met by its own industry at home, the necessary effort was made to improve production methods. Results began to flow almost immediately. By 1833 Spain was exporting wheat, olive oil and wine. The Valencian orchards and rice plantations gained a world recognition for their products. The production of cotton at Motril, silk in Murcia and Málaga and saffron in La Mancha was intensified.

The textile industry in the north was organized along modern lines. The first steamboats began to appear on the Guadalquivir. The mechanical revolution had reached Spain. The Spaniards began to take an interest in economic theory, and the long war began between the protective tariff group and the free trade group. It was some time before the protectionists forced the nation back into its hole.

The construction of railroads began in 1838 in Catalonia. Foreign capital was attracted, principally British and French. Under this stimulus, virtually all the railroad lines in Spain were built in the space of a few years. Likewise, foreigners began to develop important mines like those at Rio Tinto and to increase production by more advanced methods. By midcentury there was a regular mail service. Illuminating gas made its appearance in the cities, then electricity, then the telegraph. Modern banking was instituted and the peseta was established as the national monetary unit.

The newly modernized economic structure gave Spain a healthy push which promised to achieve viability. But it was not to last. In

the last decades of the nineteenth century the nation began again the deadly cycle of dynastic wars, regional separatist movements and social conflict. Internal chaos was crowned by the disastrous Spanish-American war.

Again, as in its empire days, Spain fell behind the other European nations in the development of industrial techniques and in economic organization. This new dark period was a particularly bitter blow to Spaniards who had begun to feel that membership in the enlightened European community of nations was bound to raise Spain's level as the European level was raised. In the last decade of the last century and early in the present century there was a lingering optimism among Spanish political thinkers, and this engendered some enthusiasm for the experiment with Republican government in the 1930's.

Events leading up to the civil war of 1936-1939 brought this optimism to a full stop.

The present effort to organize commerce and industry for competition with advanced economies has required drastic dislocation and radical new policies. A reform of the economy began in 1959 as Spain prepared for membership in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. The first step was the devaluation of the peseta. Next was the elimination of certain restrictions on private import trade with the European community countries. The organization of a five-year economic plan in collaboration with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and liberalization of the domestic economy are next in an over-all plan to bring Spain's economy in line with the other economies of Europe so that Spain can have the advantage of common markets on an equal basis. Spanish exports to the European common market countries rose 157 percent from 1959 to 1960. This outlet for Spanish goods is essential. Many Spaniards believe it will be to the ultimate advantage of the nation to make whatever sacrifices are required to eliminate tariff barriers and other protection methods and to gear the Spanish economy closely, through international organization, to a common European system. The sacrifices may be great, and they will have to be

borne by a country already living in austerity. This poses the government with a serious political problem.

The present situation, in which Spain's trading position depends on world market conditions entirely beyond its control, is dangerous to the economic well-being of the nation. The marginal countries with obsolete methods and equipment and without reserves in capital or goods, living from hand to mouth, are at the mercy of great market depressions, international politics, technical changes and price inflations. Spain must import to keep even its minimal living standard, but the balance between its exports and imports is precarious and shifting. The United Kingdom is an important market for Spanish exports, as are Germany, France, the smaller western European countries, and the United States. Most Spanish imports come from the United States.

The organization of domestic commerce has been as difficult for Spain as has been the development of an adequate overseas trade. Although a few key products must come in from the outside until the basic resources of effective substitutes are found at home, as in the case of petroleum, Spain could be very nearly self-sufficient. But it is not. Internal transportation is inadequate for efficient distribution of raw resources, food and manufactured goods. It is interesting and indicative of some of Spain's organizational difficulties that whereas the nation must import railroad rolling stock and trucks, it also exports them to earn foreign exchange. There are only ten thousand miles of railroads in Spain, while France has twenty-five thousand. There are fewer than fifty thousand miles of roads, less than one quarter of France's. There are 27 people for every automobile in France, contrasted to 397 for each one in Spain. Distances, topography and unpopulated areas add to the problem of developing adequate transport. Many interior points of Spain are without regular supply from centers of production. It may be considered typical of the Spanish genius that the same people who first made a high road of the great oceans of the earth have not developed adequate transportation between towns and villages in their own country. Madrid, however, is a highway and rail center, and as such it is now

attracting industry. The capital is the real marketing center of the nation in spite of the fact that it is nowhere near the great manufacturing centers and commercial emporia.

A growing new Spanish asset is the tourist trade. In the five years from 1953 to 1958 the traffic grew from fewer than one million to two and one half million foreign visitors. It is increasing each year, although it does not yet match the Italian tourist business. Climate, an increasing network of good highways, reasonable prices, regional variety, the natural friendliness of the ordinary people and a wealth of historical and artistic places constitute a strong lure.

The climate ranges from perpetual snows in the high mountains to the subtropics of the Canary Islands. Traditionally, the northern European has sought the seacoast of Málaga and the quiet resorts of the Balearic Islands, but the new tourist tide rising with European economic recovery and the development of transatlantic tourist flight have widely extended the area of popular travel. The Costa Brava along the Mediterranean, the Biscay shore and the cool Atlantic coast of Galicia are attracting increased numbers of summer tourists. It has long been traditional for well-to-do Spaniards to summer along the north coast. The hot east coast is more attractive in the spring and autumn when it is cool elsewhere in Europe. But larger numbers of tourists are now seeking the centers of culture: the Prado museum in Madrid, the ancient Alhambra and the living music festival, the university town of Salamanca, Holy Week at Seville, the cathedrals at Toledo, Burgos and Santiago de Compostela and the mosque at Córdoba.

Spain, too, is becoming an increasing attraction for the artist, not only because of the classic art treasures to be seen, but also because of the unique beauty of the land. The bright regional costumes and dances, the unusual character of remote towns and the prodigal scattering of ruins of castles, aqueducts and other monuments abandoned to time constitute a massive attraction to the foreigners.

The two active spectacles most interesting to Spaniards and non-Spaniards alike are the bull fight and the performing arts of the gypsies.

THE CORRIDA

The bull fight is not a combat. It is a ritual of lost religious meaning that has been practiced as a spectacle in the Mediterranean for at least 40 centuries, brought to Spain either by the Romans or the Moors. Its present popular form is only 200 years old, a development from two sources, the aristocratic game of killing on horseback and the peasant game of killing afoot. It is essentially Andalusian, and there has been a tradition, not very accurate, that no first rate bull fighter has been born north of the Guadalquivir. The town of Ronda is the spiritual home of the matador. A *corrida de toros* is an afternoon spectacle in which three graduate matadors dispose of two bulls apiece. These specially bred animals are of the species *taurus ibericus*, born to kill. But it is expected that the man will kill the bull, and this is usually the case. Only one matador in 25 is killed by the bull.

The ceremony is a discipline executed as carefully as a ballet. After a parade of participants, the bull appears through a gate into the ring, where he is played with a yellow and magenta cape. During this action, the matador notes the individual characteristics of his adversary, particularly those that make the bull dangerous at close quarters. Then the picadors on horseback try out the bull's strength and courage against their pikes, and in the process weaken his shoulder muscles in order to make the toss of his horns less deadly. In the next act the *banderillas*, brightly decorated sticks, are stuck in the bull's shoulders by the matador or one of his company. This is a spectacular and dangerous enterprise which, if successful, induces the bull to keep his head low so the matador can work close to it. In the last act, the matador maneuvers the bull with a small red serge cape, asserts his complete domination of the animal and kills him with a straight sword. In the play that leads to the death of the bull, the courage and art of the matador are considered shrewdly by the crowd; their judgment is final, and it makes or breaks his reputation. Spaniards say there are only a dozen men in the world good enough to be called first class matadors.

THE JUERGA FLAMENCA

The gypsies of Hindustan are the only unassimilated minority in Spain, having survived four centuries as a distinct ethnic group. Their general practice of adhering to the church of their adopted land may account for the unusual tolerance of their presence after the expulsion of the unconverted Jews and Moors. Their small numbers and nonpolitical attitude may also contribute to their welcome. The gypsy language in Spain has been enriched by adaptation of Spanish words. Spain has been hospitable; many gypsies have abandoned their nomadic life and settled on the land, particularly in the south, and recently many have gone to work in industrial Seville. The gypsy is lively, bright, talkative and musical, and he is usually a graceful dancer. In Andalusia he has developed a distinct folk music and dance, blending his traditional art with the Moorish. At first for his own entertainment and more lately for its commercial value, the gypsy has become the Spanish singer, dancer and guitar player par excellence.

The typical gypsy music and dance spectacle is called the *juerga flamenca*. This is a spontaneous demonstration in which each performer comes forward in turn and improvises to the accompaniment of the rest of the troupe. The individual dances and songs, regional in origin, are carried from province to province by this means. Many caf  s that cater to Spaniards and tourists hire gypsy troupes as entertainers. It is no longer possible to trace the origins of the instruments, the expressions used, the music and the dance forms in the Spanish gypsy repertoire. The music is called *can  * or *canto hondo*, the former a gypsy word and the latter Castilian. The word *flamenco*, often used to describe the music and dance program, means Flemish, referring to the colorful entertainment of the Spanish kings in their court in Flanders. The word gypsy, *gitano* in Spanish, indicates early confusion about the origin of these wanderers.

SPANISH culture now embraces a significant part of the globe; the Spanish language is a world language, and Spain's religion is a world religion. Even the local variations and embellishments of the Hispanic culture that differentiate villages and districts across the Iberian Peninsula can be found in the Andes, in the Caribbean and on the plains of Mexico.

The culture of Spain has visibly affected the life of the United States, where Spanish is the second language taught in schools and where the Andalusian cowboy gallops hourly across millions of television screens wearing his *chaparejos* and *sombrero* and whirling his *lazo* as he heads for the *rancho*. The outdoor barbecue, the ranch wagon and patio are gaining steadily year by year on the New England culture. Oddly enough, the influence of southern Spain that is so strong in the United States has had less effect on central and northern Spain. The Castilian who conquered the Moor continues to hold most of the peninsula to his own hard tradition, confining to Andalusia the remnants of the softer culture he overcame. At the Sierra Morena the pleasant southern living stops. But it has not stopped in the United States at the borders of California, Texas and Florida. It moved north and east across the nation with such speed that the wide Andalusian hat and the tight Andalusian pants are already worn on dude ranches in the Catskills. It was hardly more than one hundred years ago that the first firm contact was made between the Spanish colonial life of the southwest and the transplanted life of the English puritans in the northeast.

The intermediary stopping place between Andalusia and New

England was the American colonial territory of Spain. Spanish colonial life was a rustic reproduction of regional life in Spain. Since the first permanent Spanish colonists in the New World sailed from Seville and Cádiz, colonial life took on the Andalusian character. Since Andalusia retains many Moorish characteristics, the Moorish side of the Spanish culture appeared strongly in Spanish America. This accounts for the surprise on the faces of tourists from the southwestern areas of the United States when they arrive in northern Spain. It also accounts for the absence of the Castilian form of the Spanish language in Spanish America. Yet there are wide variations of Spanish in Spanish America. Colombian Spanish is reputed to be "pure." Argentine Spanish has changed with its predominantly Italian population. In Mexico the language is laced with Aztec and Toltec words like *tomato* and *coyote*. In Bolivia and Paraguay it includes native Quechua and Guaraní words. In Texas and California it is slurred, and *juzgado* has become *hoosegow*.

It is the presence of the Spanish political and social system in the Western Hemisphere that has made Spain and the United States neighbors, if only vicarious neighbors. There are eighteen Spanish American republics with a combined population rapidly overtaking that of the United States. The future of the United States is intimately involved with theirs. Their Spanish character is more clearly apparent than is the Anglo-Saxon character of the United States.

The United States, having long ago ceased to be English, finds it hard to appreciate that Uruguay is still in large measure Spanish; that is to say, Spanish in language, religion, social and political forms, law and so forth. The attitude of the Spanish American toward Spain is unlike the attitude of the North American toward Great Britain. Even at the lowest ebb of Spanish world prestige, the Spanish American feels a strong sense of kinship. While the North American ceased to think like an Englishman and had ceased to think that way before the Revolution, the Spanish American still thinks much like a Spaniard. He thought like a Spaniard when he won his independence during the period of social and political disintegration in Spain. This does not mean that the Spanish American

automatically approves the policies of Spain or excuses what he believes to be Spanish mistakes. On the contrary, he is more critical of Spain than the North American is of Great Britain. He is almost as critical of Spain as a Spaniard. But he feels close to Spain, as one feels close to his family.

THE SPANISH AMERICAN HERITAGE

North Americans for some time have been seeking a clue or thread that runs through Latin American politics, so that they may better understand what is happening in their neighborhood. The key to Spanish American politics, as to many other features of Spanish American life, is the nature of the Spaniard. The native American character of Spanish America, strong in many ways and likely to be stronger in the future, is not the dominant influence in the government of the Spanish American countries. For three centuries under the Spanish crown, local rule was in the hands of the Spanish creole aristocracy. The wide distribution to Spanish technicians, priests, soldiers, traders and adventurers of the most desirable lands and localities followed the pattern established in the conquest of Moorish Spain. It was intended for the same purpose, to safeguard the rule of the Castilian crown and to establish the church. It placed a land-owning Spanish aristocracy over native populations and to a large extent submerged purely American cultures. The native populations became Spanish in culture, but like the conquered peoples of Andalusia they found themselves generally in an inferior social status.

The ratio of Spanish to Indian population varies greatly from country to country. Argentina is almost entirely European. In many countries the population is completely mixed. In some countries the Indian has remained in the majority. In most cases the educated and property-owning classes are of Spanish origin and owe their present favored position to colonial policy.

To a large extent, then, one must seek out in Spain the origin and meaning of the present political and social systems of Spanish America.

Calvinist North Americans find it difficult to understand the

aversion of the Spanish aristocrat to manual labor. In a country that believes with Benjamin Franklin that people should always be doing something, leisure seems laziness. But Spanish leisure is not laziness. It reflects the belief that man's aim is not only to do things, but civilize himself. This sense of dignity in human purpose is shared by most Asian peoples. If its origin in Spain is not Arabic, at least it was reinforced by the example of the Arab conquerors. They believed that time was best spent with art, literature and music or some other form of self-expression. The Spaniard educates himself to become a better man, not to make it possible to do more work. The true aristocrat is not interested in working with his hands in order to prove that he is busy. Nor is he interested in "business" and "efficiency" and similar middle class ideas. The effort that goes into organizing a great commercial enterprise is common in North America, but it is not common in Spanish America. Nor does the educated young Spaniard or Spanish American care for technical work if it is painstaking in nature. If he needs to work for a living, he educates himself for a profession. The universities of Spanish America, therefore, turn out more lawyers than engineers, even though the material requirements of their countries suggest the reverse. The traditional young Spanish American selects the career of government bureaucrat, army officer, lawyer, doctor or priest, or he may prefer to be a poet or a painter. These occupations offer social status. They are achieved by education, and the end of higher educational institutions is to provide training for them.

Since the traditional role of the university is to advance learning, rather than to take care of some requirement of the state, it is not easy for the governments of the Spanish American republics, if they so desire, to force the educational system to graduate fewer lawyers and more engineers.

The decision to follow the higher callings and to avoid the shirt-sleeves professions is made consciously by the young Spanish American of family. He has had an opportunity to learn the technical professional skills badly needed in Spain and in Spanish America,

but he has not done so in great numbers. These careers, however, are being selected increasingly by the children of the middle classes whose choice is not so wide and whose ambitions differ. Scholarships for study abroad in countries whose educational systems are designed to produce technical experts are becoming increasingly attractive to the rising middle classes. Arrangements between North American and Spanish American universities offer a further break with the tradition of education for leisure or status.

In the closer collaboration between North and Latin America, which is inevitable as they seek development and advancement of their economies, an understanding of the difference between the Spanish point of view and the North American point of view concerning the nobility of labor is an essential first step.

Another characteristic of Spanish American society that is an enigma to the North American is the element of personal leadership in politics. Here again, it is necessary to return to the history of the Spaniard and to the development of his political tradition. The greatest hero of Spain, the Cid, was a military captain. The typical hero of the Spanish American republic is the leader of the latest *coup d'etat*.

While the tradition of the town meeting spread from New England and Virginia and became the pattern for political action in the United States, Spanish action is the work of an individual. The Spanish settlements in the new world grew up under the control of viceroys and captains-general. Whereas among the Visigoths power was in the hands of the nobility, the Moors of Spain were governed absolutely by the emir or the caliph. An Arab tribe is run by a chief. The tradition of absolutism has been strong since Moorish days. It supports the *caudillo* principle, and it is also known as *personalismo*. This system makes the individual stronger than the political party he represents, just the reverse of the political system of the United States. When an individual becomes the head of government by his own personal resources, he can be removed only by another whose personal resources are greater. The means is unimportant. It can be political action, a palace revolution or

civil war. In any case, the method is not a count of votes but rather a test of personal strength. This means of changing the administration has been traditional in the Mediterranean world. The pre-Greek peoples changed kings by personal combat. This method is distasteful to northerners, but not to most of the Mediterranean peoples. While the Spanish kings retained control in the Americas, arrangements for the succession of viceroys and lesser officers of the crown was a prerogative of the royal power. But when the crown lost control, areas of Spanish America reverted to local personal contests to establish political leadership. In the first century after Colombia achieved its independence from Spain, it experienced ten revolutions, seventy local uprisings and a two-year civil war costing 100,000 lives.

So strong is the *caudillo* principle in the former colonies of Spain that even Argentina, with its heavy non-Spanish population and with its great response to nineteenth century liberal thought, has produced some of the most spectacular personal leaders, including Rosas and Perón. Times and the weapons of politics change, but the personal principle does not change in Spanish America. Feudal family battle cries have changed to mass ideological propaganda, but the psychological basis of the appeal is *personalismo*, the yearning for a strong man.

Another vital difference between the United States and Spanish America is the rigidity of the Spanish social structure and the importance of status in the life of the Spaniard. In the United States a man is a free agent under contract to society to keep the peace in return for protection of his rights, his life and his property. In the status society of the old world, each individual has his place. In most cases he is born into that place, but in any case he is not free to make a contract with society; he is himself a fixed part of society. His place requires him to render certain services and entitles him to his fixed status in return. This place is recognized in law, and his obligations are understood in law.

While North Americans live under a free contract and Spanish Americans live according to their prescribed place in society, this

does not mean that lower and middle class Spanish Americans feel any sense of inferiority. In the Spanish system a difference in station in life does not suggest a difference in individual merit. Medieval pilgrims coming into Spain from Europe were astonished to see peasant and cavalier, one dismounted, the other mounted, meet on equal terms at the crossroad, neither giving way, neither lowering or altering his speech in deference to the other. One needs only to alight from a train in the Argentine Andes and hear the polite *adiós* in archaic greeting to appreciate that in some places times have not changed. But while no stigma attaches to a lower social station among Spaniards, it is more difficult to move up and out of it than in the United States. There has not always been a desire to do so, for responsibilities change with changes in status. Spaniards are more likely to cherish their moral fiber and their ability to survive without luxuries than they are to concern themselves about their place in the social structure. There seems to be a core of integrity in the Spaniard which cannot be touched by the conditions of his life.

The urgent concern of the North American about his social standing, even though he lives in a virtually classless society, is not clearly understood by the Spanish American. But the North American drive for material advancement and for better living standards is beginning to awaken similar aspirations in Spanish America. Although for many centuries the Spaniard prided himself on his ability to survive on very little, this pride is giving way to a new materialism in Spanish America, particularly in the middle classes. This is an important development, since the basic aspirations of all the peoples of the Western Hemisphere must be more or less alike if they are to develop a common economic system. The North American system has been pushed to high speed by the drive for social recognition and better living. The motivations are as essential as the resources and the technology. A sense of well-being never drove an economic system to full speed.

There are many other differences between North America and Spanish America that must be understood. Some of them arise be-

cause the American Indian population was absorbed by the Spanish while segregated or destroyed by the English colonists. Most arise, however, because of a lack of understanding of the difference in the bases of the two parent societies, Anglo-Saxon and western European on the one hand and Roman and Moorish on the other.

Only to the extent that social and cultural differences among peoples are giving way to mass communication, technical training and popular education are these misunderstandings of purpose between the United States and Spanish America diminishing. But the Spanish culture, both in Spain and in the Americas, is vigorous enough to persist distinct from ours for a long time to come. Certain social and political features of Spanish American life, deeply rooted in experience and tradition, are contrary to the modern trend toward a classless, materialistic society. These features may be swept away by internal conditions in Spain and in Spanish America before they succumb to outside pressures and influences.

That an accommodation of the two cultures is possible has been demonstrated in Puerto Rico, which is considered in Latin America to be a Yankee society. It is considered in the United States to be a Spanish society. In reality it is neither. Rather, it is a remarkably well-balanced selection of the best of each. Spain ruled Puerto Rico for 400 years. As in the Philippines, the Spanish legacy was a poverty of material things and a wealth of cultural things. This seeming paradox is understandable since Spain itself is poor in one and rich in the other. Ninety percent of the population was left illiterate, so that even the cultural riches lavished on Puerto Rico were totally available only to a few. Since 1898 when sovereignty changed, Puerto Rico has passed from a purely agricultural to an industrialized economy, and its per capita annual income has reached \$500, greater than any in Latin America except oil-rich Venezuela and considerably greater than Spain's. Greater income, leisure time and public education are making it possible for modern Puerto Ricans to develop their own variant of both the North American and the Spanish cultures.

There are about one million people in the United States of

Puerto Rican descent and about two and one half million of Mexican descent. This comprises the bulk of the people of Spanish origin and culture living in this country. Most of these live in New York City and in the states of California, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. It is through them, of course, that Spain has made its greatest impact on our national life.

It has been noted that Napoleon's invasion of Spain, on the heels of the French revolution, both broke the absolute power of the Spanish royal family and carried egalitarian political ideas into the Peninsula. After the French were expelled, Ferdinand VII resumed the throne, but under the restrictions of a constitution drawn up at Cádiz. He soon cast these off. Liberal and radical forces in Spain were unable to accept Ferdinand's efforts to restore the power of the Bourbon monarchy, and they attacked the institution of royalty itself. The political forces born in Ferdinand's reign, those which have contended for control of Spain ever since, swept to the colonies and inspired their independence. By 1825 Spain had lost all of the American colonies except those in the West Indies.

The newly independent nations, unlike the North American colonies that had won their independence from Britain only a few years earlier, retained their individual sovereignty. A federation of states similar to the United States was proposed for northern South America, but factionalism and regionalism made this union impossible.

The inability of the Spanish American states to unite left the broad political and economic balance of power in the Americas with the United States. It deprived Spanish America of the advantages of a common market and common capital and technical resources. It doomed the less favored areas to a long period of poverty and backwardness. It opened the way for national rivalries and eventually to internal Spanish American wars such as that of the Chaco. It left each individual nation vulnerable to attack or exploitation; Mexico, in its exposed position, was the worst sufferer.

But the forces that might have led to unification were insufficient to overcome the natural differences and rivalries of the regions, in-

herited by them from Spain and intensified by the land barriers between them. Panama was closer to Seville than to Buenos Aires. Moreover, Panama and Buenos Aires had no reason to communicate or to trade. But even those colonies that were close enough to assist each other in their revolutionary wars found it impossible to collaborate after the battles were won. This situation continues a Spanish political tradition and duplicates the experience of the regions of Spain. A final and compelling reason for national individuality was the vested interests of the creole families. The life of the more favored families was a rich and easy one, and each feared its privileged positions might be jeopardized in the process of union.

It is ironic that modern Spanish America and modern Spain have not developed material ties to any significant extent. Of the Latin countries, only Portuguese-speaking Brazil carries on a substantial commerce with Spain. The United States, Great Britain and Germany account for the bulk of Spanish imports and exports, while even Switzerland ranks ahead of the Spanish-speaking countries. It is ironic also that Spain has developed no appreciable political collaboration with the Spanish American republics, whereas Great Britain and the United States work closely together in many international enterprises.

The sum of Spain's domination of the Spanish-speaking world can be expressed in one word: culture. In that field, Spanish influence is supreme.

SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

On the other hand, the present relationship of Spain and the United States, although it includes the strong cultural influence acquired with the absorption of Spanish colonial territory, is based broadly on economic and political considerations. Economically, the United States requires certain specialty products of Spain such as olive oil, while Spain requires industrial and other equipment that can be produced only in technically advanced countries. As a result, about one seventh of all Spain's international trade is with the United States. Recent close collaboration of Spain and the

United States, however, is based on common international political concerns. These include the desire of the United States to assist in strengthening the economies of Europe, including Spain, as a means of assuring political stability and military defense. Although this policy was expressed in the United States in the form of the Marshall Plan for European recovery, the plan itself was not extended to Spain; instead, a separate agreement was made between Spain and the United States in 1953.

Under the terms of the agreement, the United States was required to furnish military and economic assistance to Spain within the structure of a wide plan for maintaining world security and peace. Specifically, Spain furnished the sites for air and naval bases that have been constructed and manned by the United States, and at the same time the United States undertook to assist in supporting and developing the Spanish economy. In addition to direct economic assistance, the United States has sold excess agricultural crops to Spain on favorable terms.

Since the 1953 agreement was signed, the United States has provided more than one billion dollars in assistance to the Spanish economy, apart from military assistance and construction and other expenditures in connection with the establishment of the military bases.

The effect of this on the Spanish economy has been critical, since it arrived at a time when Spain was in need of substantial investment in modernization. The economic agreement put dollars directly into the economy, while the Spanish Government in turn invested the pesetas generated by the agreement. Thus, 83 million dollars and 754 million pesetas have been invested in electrical power plants and the distribution of power. Hydroelectric and thermal plants have been built, generators installed and power lines run; copper wire has been fabricated, and the other prime requirements of an extended modern electrical system have been met. Thirty million dollars have been invested in steel plant equipment and 60 million in imported coking coal; new mills have been constructed. Half of the cotton used in the Catalonian textile mills has been imported

into Spain with economic aid funds, worth a total of 215 million dollars, not only filling the gap between Spanish production and textile requirements, but affording Spain the new types of cotton now available on the world market. At the same time, new equipment is being purchased for the textile industry in order to make it competitive with the textile production of other nations. Twenty four million dollars and more than two billion pesetas have gone into the modernization of transportation systems and 400 millions of pesetas into airports and air traffic control. About four and one half billion pesetas have been invested in irrigation projects, making it possible to raise three crops a year on land that produced only one before and to stabilize seasonal farm labor in these areas on a year-round basis. Another 650 million pesetas have gone into reforestation projects to produce marketable timber, prevent disastrous erosion and restore the balance between wooded land and open land.

Not only has the Spanish economy been reactivated to the extent of these new and extraordinary investments, but the government's annual budget deficit has been covered in part by grants and loans from the peseta holdings of the United States arising from the economic cooperation program. The result has been a steady economic expansion over the past four or five years, with substantial increase in production, in employment and in investment capital. A trend toward inflation accompanied this expansion, but control measures have been taken.

Military cooperation between Spain and the United States formalized by the agreements of 1953 takes the form of assistance to Spanish forces, largely in terms of modern equipment, and includes the use of Spanish bases by United States forces, particularly the Air Force and the Navy. One of the significant engineering projects in connection with establishing the bases is a petroleum pipeline from Cádiz to Zaragoza.

The current period of close cooperation follows more than a century of conflicting interests which have kept the two nations apart. In the period in which most of the Spanish colonies, after

the example of the United States, achieved their independence, Spain was preoccupied with the war against Napoleon and with new internal political problems. Emotions arising in England and Europe over continental power conflicts with Spain and the Reformation had been carried to North America by English and European colonists, and their attitude toward Spain was clouded by feelings of fear and resentment. Spaniards have since contended, and perhaps with reason, that they were made the victims of a "black legend" which obscured their real accomplishments in advancing the Christian religion, in developing the arts and sciences in the New World and in administering the Spanish colonies along humane lines.

The Spanish point of view is that the Spanish-American War was unnecessary and that the Spanish Government was prepared to make concessions equal to the advantages gained by the victor. In any event, the war with the United States cost Spain Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines and drove from the American continent the very nation that discovered it. It left rival European powers, however, still in possession of their American territories.

This final dispossession of Spain reduced the nation to virtual impotency in world affairs and induced a policy of neutrality which kept it aloof from both world wars.

Present popular attitudes in the United States toward Spain were formed during the civil war of 1936-1939. The ideological support of the opposing forces developed according to the political make-up of the United States. At the beginning of the conflict the political grouping on the Spanish republican side was wider in its spread and thus attracted greater popular support in Europe and in the United States. However, during the progress of the war the direct intervention of armed forces and official agents of fascist and communist powers disillusioned foreign supporters of both factions. The final victory of General Franco's conservative forces came at the point of national exhaustion and most outside observers, including those in the United States, heard the news of the end with a sense of relief.

Since the close of the Second World War, the official policy of the United States toward Spain has been friendly and has been concerned with strengthening the nation in order to help it become a stronger member of the family of nations. This policy has been aimed at a longer range than merely to encompass the regime now in power, but it has not been antagonistic to Franco. The United States has sponsored the acceptance of Spain in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as in regional and world economic and financial groupings.

NATIONS derive their internal well-being from an ability to fulfill the expectations of their people, and their place in the world depends on the influence they exert on other peoples and other nations.

From the material point of view, Spain has not yet fulfilled the expectations of the Spanish people, although it must be said that these expectations do not seem great to a non-Spaniard. From the cultural point of view, Spain has amply fulfilled the needs of the Spanish people. One may judge that by the richness of Spanish life.

From the standpoint of influencing others, Spain stands among the most advanced nations of the world. No European nation has surpassed Spain in the depth and permanence of its influence.

Spain has extended its own development of the Hebraic-Greco-Roman-Byzantine civilization over a vast area of the earth. Whereas the Islamic world of which Spain was a brilliant part reached westward only to the Atlantic and eastward only to the Philippines, the Christian Spanish Empire circled the globe. And wherever the flag of Spain rested in the sixteenth century, Spanish is spoken today and the Roman Catholic religion is professed.

The material differences between nations are beginning to disappear as a matter of policy (the richest sharing with the others). Public debate and international persuasion are beginning to replace military pressure as the legitimate means toward achieving national aims. Under these modern conditions, the strength of a nation's cultural influence appears more important than it did before. Even in the times when naked power carried the flag forward, the cul-

tural influence that followed military conquest proved to be more permanent than the political gain. Many a boundary that once marked the limits of empire now merely describes the area of a single language or religion. In the case of the former Spanish empire, this cultural boundary is a more real and permanent marker than it was when it served the viceroys as a political boundary.

Yet the cultural mark of Spain on the Western Hemisphere, Africa and Asia, important as it is, does not fully indicate the achievement of the Spanish nation in the world. The influence of Spain on the non-Spanish world, the contribution of Spain as a nation to western civilization, is the important consideration in assessing the place of Spain in our society. That contribution is heaviest in learning, philosophy and art. Oddly enough, it was greatest at a time when the attention of the world was captured by Spain's immediate military and political achievements.

SPANISH CULTURE

Spain began to exert a strong cultural influence when a Roman colony, and it has continued to do so through the ages. This influence has not been steady, but it has been intense in some periods and quiescent in others. The periods of intensity have generally occurred during tremendous national advances in all fields, such as during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This period of national activity produced not merely the popular political and military leaders of the day, but also such timeless Spaniards as Cervantes, El Greco, Velázquez, Calderón, St. Ignatius de Loyola and St. Teresa. Another and earlier period of tremendous intellectual vigor includes the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the Muslims and Christians of Spain examined together the treasures of learning pouring in from the East. Into Spain in the Arabic language came the learning of the Hindus and the Greeks, opening Spanish eyes to the world of thought. Averroes became not simply the Muslim authority on Aristotle but western Europe's authority as well, and he was for the next centuries more influential on Christian and Jewish thought than on Muslim thought. Spain was

the place where much of the great thought of those times converged. One of those who assisted most in the process of transferring Greek, Persian and Byzantine learning from the Muslim world to Christian Europe was King Alfonso X of Castile, who brought together at Seville, Salamanca and Murcia the great teachers and the great texts. At one time in Spain three great medieval schools, the Muslim school of Averroes, the Jewish school of Maimonides and the Christian school of Ramón Lull flourished. These were indeed riches beyond the power of most societies to gather together.

Out of Spain's experience came some of the traditions of the modern university. Sertorius founded an autonomous assembly of professors and students, a *studia generalia*, in Huesca in the first century before Christ. Hadrian later founded others in Spain. By the eleventh century, the university was a going institution. By the seventeenth century there were 32 universities in Spain, one of them with 7,822 students. Spain has since founded 60 universities in various parts of the world. Among those in the New World are the Universities of Buenos Aires, Tucumán, Monreal, San José, Havana, Santiago, Quito, Tegucigalpa, Mexico, Asunción, Lima, San Salvador, Montevideo, Caracas and Mérida. Santo Tomás was founded in Manila.

There has been no time in history when Spain was unproductive in thinking, in literature and in the arts. That Spain's eminence in the artistic field goes back twenty or thirty thousand years is indicated by the paintings on the walls of the cave at Altamira. That it continues into our time is evidenced by Picasso, Gaudi and Casals and the myriad less well known creative artists in all fields. The impressive list of modern abstract artists produced by Spain includes Miró, Tápies, Cuixart and Tharrats of Catalonia; Viola of Lérida; Chirino and Millares of the Canary Islands; and Saura of Cuenca.

Not only Spanish art moves the world, but Spanish music and dancing as well. Creative writers, too, abound in Spain in the twentieth century: Baroja, Unamuno, Ortega y Gasset, Madariaga and Jiménez.

One of the characteristics of Spanish writing and art is its universality. Despite the regionalization of his daily life, or perhaps because of it, the Spaniard thinks also in terms that encompass the universe. This has been true from the early Spanish mystics to the modern writers and painters.

SPANISH POLITICAL THOUGHT

While Spain has strongly influenced the political development of the modern world, the nation is now at a low ebb of political influence. The present modest position of Spain in world affairs must be charged, at least in part, to the national exhaustion that followed its imperial role in the sixteenth century. Spain has never fully recovered from its prodigal expenditure of men and money in trying to perpetuate the Holy Roman Empire in Europe and in giving birth to the nations of Spanish America and the Philippines. This effort, of course, was made in what Spanish political thinkers of the time considered to be the common European cause. The political and economic organization of Europe is still sought after as it was by Philip II of Spain, but it is now sought by common consent. Out of their Roman, Visigothic and Moorish experience, the Spanish kings thought of organization not in voluntary terms but in terms of the will and force of single leadership.

Spain can be said to have lived its great moment on the political stage. The nation acquitted itself well, playing its role with vigor and success and retreating off through the wings in good order. The same may be said of other modern nations. We use the past tense, but history is not a neatly written drama with a beginning and an end. There is no one to say whether or not there will be a next act. The rise and fall of national leadership can be explained historically but it cannot be predicted.

Without the political leadership it once exercised, Spain nevertheless still performs many useful functions in the world family. Its very national existence keeps the Iberian Peninsula, a natural transitional region, from becoming a battleground of contending

states. Another similar region on the border between rival civilizations, the Balkan Peninsula, has not been so fortunate. At the beginning of World War I, the Iberian area was peopled only by the Spanish and the Portuguese, while the Balkan area was peopled by the Slovenes, Serbs, Croatians, Montenegrins, Albanians, Greeks, Bulgarians and Turks. The service now performed by Yugoslavia in giving nationality and strength to a multiplicity of potential national groups has been performed at the other end of the Mediterranean by Castilian Spain for more than five centuries. Had it not been for Castile, not only would the Magreb area of North Africa include the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula, but the northern half would itself consist of a variety of independent kingdoms no larger than the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.

The larger political service of Spain to the world however, has not been in political organization. It has been in political thought. This contribution has been made in spite of the aloofness of Spain from modern political and social currents. It has been made in spite of the fact that Spain exhibits to the western world many medieval traits that no longer survive in most modern states. The particular contribution of Spain is the peculiarly Spanish sense of democracy, and this has been spread by cultural rather than political means, specifically through literature and art.

This is not to say that Spanish democracy has not had expression in Spanish institutions. The development of Spanish parliamentary councils from the year 400 to the present day has been significant. The Germanic councils of the Visigoths were precursors of modern parliaments. The first parliamentary limitations on the power of the king were those in the codes of King Euric. They were expressed in a Spanish manner: "You will be king while you act in the right. When you act in the wrong you will not be king." The Spanish *fuero juzgo* of King Euric is, ironically, the oldest Germanic body of law now in existence. The Spanish *cortes*, the modern version of the Visigothic council, conserves the traditional medieval assembly of the three estates: the clergy, the nobility and

the citizens. The town of León in the north of Spain sent the first delegation of citizens to the Spanish *cortes* in 1138.

It is the sense of equality among social classes and among people of different ethnic backgrounds, however, that makes Spain uniquely democratic despite its archaic social structure. The racial tolerance of the Spaniard may be attributed to Muslim occupation, although the peninsula was a remarkable melting pot of races long before that time. This tolerance softened even the Castilian religious bigotry, but not strongly enough to prevent the Inquisition in the sixteenth century. It has been said already that the religious zeal required by the Castilians to drive their non-Christian enemy from the peninsula carried them to harsh measures which went so far as to seriously prejudice the material well-being of the nation. But religious intolerance was mainly on the Christian side. Except for the two outbreaks of the Berber fundamentalists from North Africa, the Spanish Muslim treatment of other religions was commendable by modern standards. In fact, Moorish ruling circles prominently included Christian and Jewish officials and teachers.

Beyond questions of race and religion, the Spaniard exhibits a fundamentally democratic attitude toward life that comes out strongly in everything he says and writes, from folk poetry to Cervantes. Here the great and the humble are equal. Each fulfills the assignment for which his manhood calls, rich or poor, great or simple. In the art of Goya also, the distinction between men becomes one of natural endowments, not one of class. The origin of this sense of personal completeness must lie in the requirements of survival in the desert and on the steppes. This self-reliance permits a man to look at other men as equals. Every Spaniard is at heart an aristocrat. He is entitled to be addressed as "your grace," and no Knight of the Golden Fleece from Madrid would think of addressing a shepherd in the Estremadura hills in any other way. Almost all Spanish literature speaks to this complete and adequate man; it has been addressed to him from the beginning. Spanish writers were speaking on equal terms to the common people when most of the writers

of Europe were playing up to their titled patrons. Calderón has summed up the attitude of the Spaniard in his status society in the speech of Crespo in *The Alcalde of Zalamea*:

With my substance, yes;
with my good name, no.
To the king, one's substance and one's life
is due, but one's honor
is part of his own soul,
and one's soul come from God.

The modern philosopher Ortega y Gasset followed this democratic tradition of the Spanish man of letters when he said that all that has been done in Spain has been done by its people.

The transplanting of Spanish democracy to the American continent has made possible a Spanish-American literature with the same outlook. It has also made possible the dignified blending of races and the formation of the great Spanish-Indian republics such as Mexico. These democratic traits are Iberian, not simply Spanish. Portugal claims them to a great degree and has transplanted them to Brazil, where they form the social foundation of the great new Brazilian nation. The Anglo-Saxon culture was imposed on northern North America in a manner in marked contrast to the tolerance of the south. While the Anglo-Saxon political tradition was democratic, its cultural tradition was not. The fate of the indigenous Indian was a hard one in North America, except in those areas originally settled by the Spanish.

THE SPANISH ECONOMIC HERITAGE

It has already been said that the genius of the Castilians lay not in material things. Had it been left to them, the Spanish contribution to modern life would have been for the most part cultural and political. But the Moors were mostly civilized materialists. They gave the western world a large part of its present gourmet diet, including oranges, lemons, peaches, apricots, bananas, spinach, artichokes, rice,

sugar and saffron. They also brought silk culture, cotton and roses to Europe. They contributed not only to agriculture and to the industrial sciences, as has been mentioned, but to trade.

Christian Spain, however, participated in the commercial awakening of the entire Mediterranean in that era defined as the Renaissance. Modern commercial patterns derive from it. Catalonia was closest to the revitalized Italian states and France. Through the work of Victoria and Suarez, Spain became a pioneer in international mercantile law. As a sea power and the commercial rival of Pisa, Genoa and Venice, Barcelona set up the first consular system in the world.

Economic and commercial leadership has long since gone out of the hands of modern Spain. But the strategic Spanish position between the continents and the ocean is reflected in aviation as well as in shipping. Spain, with a favorable climate and terrain, looks forward to an important place in air commerce.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS

The relations of modern Spain with Spanish America and the United States was the subject of Chapter Five. Spain's relations with the other nations of the world have been seriously affected by the ideological emotions within and without Spain leading up to the civil war. Oddly enough, these emotions have survived for a quarter of a century while the ideological emotions leading up to World War II had been pretty well forgotten within ten years. While most of the European nations have carried on friendly relations with their World War II enemies, the admission of Spain into the United Nations was only recently accomplished. And the delay was due to the opposition of the nations with which Spain had not been at war. The underlying emotional difficulty goes deeper than opposition to the present form of government of Spain, since relations with Portugal, also under a dictatorial regime, have not suffered so severely over such a long period of time. Nevertheless, one must assume that Spain would be in a better position regarding many of the other

European nations had the republican side triumphed in the civil war.

The position of Spain among nations takes on greater significance today than at any time in recent history because of the new requirements for international co-operation within the European community. Europe is made up of nations that are politically independent but otherwise deeply interdependent. Spain, like the other nations, increasingly must look for the economic well-being, the security and the health, education and welfare of the Spanish people within a common European pattern rather than to seek these things alone. The practice of voluntary cooperation toward common objectives has been most fully developed among the industrialized nations of western Europe. In these countries, varied though they may be in cultural make-up, individuals and groups have learned to adjust their interests to the common interest. Their citizens are involved in private relationships with citizens of other countries on a similar basis, looking toward the advancement of their economic interests, a common advancement in learning and the general welfare of peoples and nations. But Spain has no strong tradition of the suppression of internal ambitions for the common good or of the suppression of national interests for the benefit of international action. It is only now entering the field of organized international co-operation. It has only recently entered the European Economic Community as a full fledged member. This move is a very recent acknowledgement of its role as a part of modern Europe and recent acceptance by other European nations.

While Spain looks toward European integration as a basis for improving its living standards and participating in the industrial and technical advancement of the west, the nation also looks to Africa. The Spanish position in Africa was intimate in prehistoric times, in Roman times and in Moorish times. The heavy Berber ethnic element in Spain is of African origin. Roman Spain was intimately connected with the Tingitana area of present Mauritania in the western Sahara. Spain was a part of the Magreb during the Moorish occupa-

tion, and at that time particularly close to the Berbers, Arabs and Jews of North Africa. Ceuta on the North African coast was captured during the reconquest, and after the fall of Granada, Spain took Melilla and Oran. Spain feels closer to Africa than do most of the other European countries. The Spanish relationship with newly independent Morocco has been intimate. From 1954 to 1957, Spain gave Morocco \$31,600,000 in aid. But Spain in Africa is facing some of the political difficulties experienced by other European colonial powers.

FRANCE

Spain's present relations with France are still colored by the experience of the civil war, particularly because of the settlement of republican refugees on the French side of the border. Nevertheless, France is Spain's closest neighbor, shares with Spain some inheritance of the Roman culture and, in Catalonia and the Basque provinces, shares some ethnic elements. France is Spain's fourth largest trading partner and an associate in the common market of the European Economic Community. French tourists, along with German and British, are the backbone of the growing Spanish tourist trade.

France and Spain grew toward nationhood at about the same time, but France's natural rival was England while Spain's natural rivals were the Moorish caliphates. In later centuries, France and Spain became continental rivals. The French cultural influence on Spain during all these times has been important in lightening the otherwise dour character of the Spaniard. This influence has been strongest in Catalonia, but is being felt more widely as communications improve and distances shrink. Since France enjoys more highly developed techniques and is farther along the route to a universal world culture, the recent impact of France on Spain is greater than Spanish influence on France.

PORTUGAL

Spain is closer to Portugal than to any other country, European or African. Portugal was, for one brief period of time, a region of

Spain. Before that, under Roman, Visigothic and Moorish rule, the territories now identified as Portuguese were administered as parts of the Iberian dominions. Less forbidding in climate and topography, Portugal has developed along different economic lines from the rest of the peninsula. But it is still Iberian.

The present relations of the two countries are formalized in an Iberian pact. They worked together during World War II to maintain the neutrality and integrity of their peninsula. Portugal, however, provided naval and air bases for the Allied Powers. Lisbon developed remarkably as a communications center, particularly for air transport. When the war was concluded, both Spain and Portugal were denied admission to the United Nations. Since that time, of course, they have been admitted. Portugal was one of the twelve NATO signatories, while Spain was not.

Portugal was in a sense a rival of Spain in the period of the reconquest, although this was a dynastic rivalry arising from the assistance given by the French house of Burgundy to the Spanish house of Castile in the fighting in the western part of the peninsula, and from the consequent claims. This rivalry was like the others among the Christian kingdoms of the time and similar to those among the Moorish caliphates they usually fought. In the course of time Portugal bound itself as an ally to England in order to preserve independence from its more powerful Iberian neighbor. Nevertheless, the history of Portugal in modern times is a remarkable parallel to the history of Spain, both internally and externally. The Portuguese people may be considered as one of the regional groups of the Iberian Peninsula. They were once no farther from the Castilians than the Galicians and the Catalans.

GREAT BRITAIN

Spain and England arose together as the two most powerful maritime nations of Europe. The collision of their national interests kept them in a state of war over a long period of time. Today, however, the two nations are engaged in many common ventures, including trade and economic development. Their relationship has been

generally friendly since they collaborated to bring about the defeat of Napoleon in the Peninsular campaign. British capital was important in the modernization of Spain in the nineteenth century, and many joint British-Spanish enterprises such as mining and wine making have been of great benefit to Spain.

These practical relationships have survived Spanish popular irritation over continued British possession of the fortress of Gibraltar, located on what was once Spanish territory. The rock itself derives its name from *Jebel al Tarik*, in English the Mount of Tarik. It was named for the Moorish chief who first brought his armies across the strait in the invasion of Visigothic Spain. The Castilians finally recovered it in 1462. The British took the fortress in 1704 and have held it since. Gibraltar is now a crown colony dominating the strait from the fortified rock and the naval base that it encloses. The town is at the northwest end of the tiny peninsula, which is joined to the mainland by a sandspit. Spanish labor employed at the fortress live in the neighboring Spanish town of La Lìnea.

CONCLUSION

The relations of Spain with the other nations of the world are easily defined and easily traced historically. The influence of Spain on the hispanic nations of the world, and on such non-hispanic nations as the United States, which owe part of their development to an earlier relationship, can be precisely stated. The role of Spain in the general development of a western European civilization is less precise, but it has been explained in general terms.

It is not easy, however, to predict the future relationships of Spain in a world which is growing closer. It is not easy to foresee either the form of association Spain will develop with other nations or the ways in which Spain will influence the social development of the human family.

It is not even easy to predict the course of Spain's internal evolution, although it appears to be set on a course that will in time achieve true national unity.

Spain is a mystery to most of the rest of Europe and to the United

States. It has been said that Europeans are generally unable to understand the two countries that lie on the perimeter of Europe—Russia and Spain. Neither country is entirely European in location, in ethnic origins, in culture or in the history of its national development. Spain's position between continents, between seas and between civilizations, while it seems to place it in the main stream, actually removes it from the experience of the rest of Europe.

The Spanish mind defies western analysis, at least the ready analysis on which peoples base their popular concepts of other peoples. Westerners generally followed the Spanish civil war avidly, but without comprehension. Eager young men volunteered for service in Spain on one side or the other in the belief they were fighting for some clear-cut ideological principle they could understand. George Orwell's book, *Homage to Catalonia*, is now the classic expression of the disillusionment of those who lived through that experience. The fact is that the popular ideologies that move the western world from time to time have no meaning in Spain, or at least they do not adequately describe the beliefs of the Spaniard. These beliefs are personal; they do not lend themselves to the work of political sloganeers.

The Spaniard is not a mass man easy to manipulate. He is an individual. The location and history of his peninsula is unique. He is the prototype of the human survivor. Every Spaniard is himself the miraculous single survivor of an experience unlike the experience of any other European, perhaps of any other member of the human family.

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